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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. XLVIII, No. 3

April, 1943

Your Business

IN other years the April issue of the *Review* has carried as its first article an account of the program of the annual meeting. To the news section has been relegated a condensed account of the reports of the officers and committees of the Association and the minutes of the Council and the annual business meeting. This year the three-day program for the annual meeting, one of the most interesting planned in recent years, was a war casualty due to the cancellation of the Columbus meeting at the request of the Federal transportation authorities. It has seemed fitting under these circumstances to give first place in this issue to the affairs of the Association. They are your business.

The loss due to the cancellation of the usual meeting was not total. The Executive Committee and the Executive Secretary had early abandoned a meeting in Washington, the original site. They transferred the sessions to Baltimore, where they found hotel space but were still on the Atlantic seaboard, which was out of bounds and in the path of the hordes of incoming and outgoing traffic focusing on Washington. The next flight was to Colum-

bus. After hovering over that city for some time, indeed alighting for a brief time, the meeting and the executive officers were shooed off their last perch. What next? There was business to be transacted, budgets to be adopted, reports to be heard, officers to be elected, and the presidential address to be delivered to somebody besides the editor of the *Review*.

The salvage was very considerable. The meeting that departed from Washington had a round-trip ticket. The Executive Secretary, who had seen it take passage with no hope of return for the duration, had the unexpected pleasure of attending a Council meeting, a business meeting, and an annual dinner with the presidential address, and all of this in Washington in buildings within sight from the windows of his office in the Library of Congress Annex. The forty-eighth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was really held and in due constitutional form. The circumstances that made a normal meeting abnormal should give to the affairs of the Association as here reported an unusual interest to those who hold that the preservation of cultural interests and ties is that part of a war effort which gives meaning and justification to all other efforts. Only by holding firmly to such a view can we lessen the perils of the peace that must follow the horrors of a global war and the spiritual wounds and weariness that are its aftermath.

The reports that follow do not cover one thing, the annual dinner. In the area of the District of Columbia there are now some five hundred members of the Association. Among those professionally interested in historical teaching and research there has been for some time a loose and informal organization which lunches together monthly and hears a paper and discusses it. This year the group is headed by Professor Donald Dozer of the University of Maryland. Professor Dozer and his associates invited Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger to read his presidential address to them at a dinner meeting on December 30. With the support and co-operation of your executive officer an effort was made to reach all resident members of the Association in order that the function might be a suitable substitute for the annual dinner at the Association meeting. The effort was very successful and some 225 members and guests sat down to the dinner in the Continental Hotel and later heard President Schlesinger read his address.

No one could deny that it was a fairly representative gathering, for the presence of historians from all over the country, now in Washington in war work, gave it a nation-wide coverage. Furthermore, the interest in the Association of some of those present spanned a goodly part of the Association's life. In the audience were such veterans as Dr. Victor Clark, Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, Professor Frank M. Anderson, and Professor James A. Woodburn.

In a photograph of the attending members at the fourth annual meeting in Washington in 1888, fifty-four years ago, Professor Woodburn is one of the few identifiable living members. If for no other reason, the presence of such as these made it a noteworthy occasion.

The rest of the report, presented in what seems like a logical order, is commended to your thoughtful reading.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1942

Despite the exigencies of war the affairs of the American Historical Association are in excellent condition. Expenditures for the current year were well within the allotted budget, which itself represented a decrease from the previous year. This would seem to indicate that the reorganization and centralization of the conduct of the business in Washington had resulted in economies. This was one of the results hoped for but not strongly urged by the Committee of Ten in their report. The membership has held up remarkably well, and the expressions of interest and loyalty to the Association have been numerous and heartening. No request for co-operation in the interests of the Association has been refused. The committees, as their reports show, have carried on as actively as conditions permitted. There are years of strain ahead for all learned societies and for all bearers of our cultural interests and traditions, but the present and the immediate past are not without their indications that it will be no faltering hand that passes on the torch to those who come after.

The remark was dropped in an informal group in Washington some weeks ago that the last war was won by the historians and the chemists, but that this one was in the hands of the economists and the physicists. The remark has some basis in the present demands for specialized personnel, if you include statisticians under economists, and many war agencies do not know the difference between them. Nevertheless, there has been a direct application of historical training in important war agencies, and many historians are in Washington in some form of service indicated by their own fields of specialization. Historians of the crusades and archaeologists who have worked in the Near East find a place alongside students of the history of modern Europe and anthropologists who once were unique in having visited the Solomons or the hinterland of Africa and Asia.

More striking than this mobilization of historians is the consciousness of the historical significance of their activities on the part of old and new government agencies. A few have already appointed a historian in some guise

or other. The number that are casting about for someone to put on their staff to write the history of their division or section is considerable and is increasing. Your Executive Secretary recently participated in a conference in which for the first time in its history and because it was receiving such a volume of requests the United States Civil Service Commission presented tentative plans for recruiting, classifying, and examining historical specialists. For its own purposes the Bureau of the Budget by executive order has added to its staff some eight or ten young scholars in history and political science, each of whom is assigned to an agency in a confidential capacity to watch the flow of material, indicate its importance or irrelevance as documents to be preserved, and to capture and record so far as possible matters of significance not committed to paper as memoranda or minutes. This group has meetings for the discussion of tasks and experiences. Its work is under a liaison officer who meets also with a supervisory committee appointed by the President. On this committee the American Historical Association is represented by Professor A. M. Schlesinger and G. S. Ford.

Plans are under consideration for a projected history of the war. What shape they will take and under what auspices and with what support they will be financed are all matters to be carefully weighed. The whole matter will be approached first through one or more informal conferences. It would seem evident that if anything concrete and feasible is the result of such informal discussion the American Historical Association, both as an organization and through individual members, would have a considerable share of the responsibility for sponsorship and production of a history of the United States in the present war. It must be a matter of regret that nothing like a similar project was completed or even undertaken for the participation of the United States in the first World War.

Every war reveals weaknesses in institutions organized for peacetime operation. Education, which in a democracy is properly the interest of every citizen, is under a running fire from right and left even in times of peace. A war, with its strains and special requirements, raises the tempo of this criticism to a drum fire. Much of it is stimulated by the discovery of a ready target at which to discharge prejudices and find release from the fears induced by pending change. What everybody knows is discovered again, namely, that the products of an educational system (even the critics) are not adepts in mathematics, geography, languages, the sciences, and history. A deplorably large fraction of the total number exposed to all these subjects have never mastered them—or any one of them—or have retained but little of what they did acquire. The fact is forgotten that every one of the delinquents has

had his chance in grade and high schools to get the essentials of these core subjects as presented by earnest teachers, underpaid and therefore often insufficiently trained. The answer is easy: there ought to be a law about it; there ought to be at least two laws about it. The first would institute economies in the schools chiefly by shortening (or lengthening) the school year and thus indirectly, or directly, reduce the salaries of teachers. The second would require them to teach more (or fewer) subjects and teach them better, or more nearly, in accord with the ideas of the critic or pressure group that is most clamorous. History, American history, must be made compulsory for all college students, irrespective of the fact that it is the one subject, along with English, that every college matriculant has had in the grades and in the high school and in some form every day of his life. If he is to be oriented in a world in which his own country is inextricably enmeshed with other lands and peoples, his shortcomings as an American citizen will not be remedied by an exclusive or exaggerated concentration on the history of one nation. America first in any narrow sense in politics, economics, or history is a sure way of making America last in the world that we hope will survive the terrible threat of leaders and peoples who have followed such policies to their bitter and bloody conclusion.

He is blind, indeed, who enters thoughtlessly into a movement to have the curricula of our colleges made piecemeal by unconsidered legislation drafted by special groups and passed by legislative bodies responsive to the moment's pressures and inconsiderate of the wider implications of what they do. When such programs are decreed, we will have them enforced by teachers' oaths subscribed to by those who have lost their freedom to teach.

If we cannot see these things by looking at the world today, we who are historians ought to recall at least that they are not new even in their American version in our own country itself. Something akin to the same clamor arose after the last World War and produced its apotheosis in the Lusk laws. I remember participating in a meeting in which the paid agent of a super-patriotic group boasted that fourteen states had passed laws to control the teaching of history and that the texts written by eleven competent historians, two of them, at least, former presidents of this Association, "would no longer debauch American youth." The crushing answer, I will not detail it here, was given by one of our distinguished members, James K. Hosmer, then in his late eighties. Having documented himself to the bewildered propagandist as a descendant on both sides of men who fell at Concord bridge and the bearer of a name that was on the national battle roll in every war in which the United States had fought, he proceeded to point out to this paid agitator what

America and American history really meant and to back up his points by references to his own writings. When the gallant old man sat down there was nothing left for me, the only practicing historian present, to do but mop up what was left of the nearly disjointed zealot. Needless to say, the group of businessmen whose fears and prejudices he had sought to play upon never murmured a single "whereas" in behalf of the legislation he had hoped to initiate in Minnesota. It takes no prophet to foresee that we shall have more misguided agitators and too few James K. Hosmers, especially if historians themselves are not alert to all the implications of loose thinking and loud talking by the uninformed on the subject of what should be taught and how, as the school's contribution to the making of American citizens.

I hope the personal character of the above paragraphs is clear to every reader. In what I have said I do not assume to speak for the American Historical Association, but I do claim and shall exercise the right to speak to them on this and other matters that seem to me of grave import.

Let us turn now to an action taken by the Council that must be presented and considered quite apart from the preceding. As part of its function, along with the promotion of scholarship and research in the many fields of history and of making possible the publication of such labors, this Association has always concerned itself with the teaching of history and of American history more particularly. From time to time it has appointed committees and commissions whose constructive studies, extending sometimes over years, have been evidence of the sensitiveness of historians and history teachers to the changing needs of a nation that makes ever-new demands upon those who study and restudy the past for the things which bear upon its future. Each age seems a new age, a critical age, a period of transition to those who are living in it. Some are really significant and germinative. Time will so judge these decades and not alone for the changes wrought or foreshadowed in the pattern of our own national life. It is the part of wisdom and the obligation of this Association to reckon with mutability of form even in the unchanging. Amid, or in spite of, the present criticism of the amount and kind of teaching of history, in this case American history, we should seek to sift the valid from the invalid and give constructive answers where the problems are real. With this point of view in mind the Council authorized the president, Professor Schlesinger, to appoint a committee to report on the state of history teaching, especially American history teaching at the college level. That committee is now in process of formation. It is hoped that a modest budget may be obtained to cover meetings and other minimum expenditures. The outcome would be embodied in constructive suggestions presented briefly and without too great delay.

All of you have received the program arranged for the annual meeting with a notice that in the very week it was in the press a request from the Office of Defense Transportation had made the meeting a war casualty. After changing its location from Washington to Baltimore and then to Columbus, where a local committee under Professor W. H. Siebert of Ohio State University had made all arrangements, the Executive Committee, the Executive Secretary, and the Chairman of the Program Committee thought they had complied with all the conditions of the transportation officials. The whole situation shifted in a week, and a request was addressed to all learned societies to forego their meetings. All assented promptly. Despite the feeling that by cancelling the meeting we may have lightened the burden of the transportation services and made it easier for members of the armed forces to move to their destinations or to spend a last furlough at home before going overseas, there can be no cause for reproach in regretting that the excellent program prepared by Dr. Pargellis and his committee was not heard. Every effort will be made to find some medium of publication for the papers that could not be read.

What is to be done about a meeting in 1943 cannot be determined at this time. The possibility of group or sectional meetings at some other time than the holidays, with one of them designated by the Council as the unit to transact necessary business, is a possibility that must be considered. This year both the Southern Historical Society, whose meeting was planned for November in Birmingham, and the Pacific Coast Branch, meeting during the Christmas holidays, cancelled their meetings.

The assistant secretary-treasurer, Miss Patty Washington, supplies the figures on the following page concerning the membership. Of the 194 members listed as delinquent a number will renew their membership, probably enough to erase the nominal loss of 32. The very considerable number of new members were added by personal invitation sent out by the Executive Secretary in the name of the Council and the whole membership of the Association. Almost all are active in historical teaching and research. This method of recruiting by personal invitation will be continued.

The concluding paragraph is a fitting place to acknowledge an addition to the endowment fund of \$1,000 as the generous gift of Professor Norman Dwight Harris of Evanston, Illinois, long a member whose interest and loyalty are thus further attested.

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*

Though there has been no noticeable impact of the war on the number of subscribers, there has been on the inflow of articles. This is a matter that

STATISTICS ON MEMBERSHIP, DECEMBER 15, 1941-DECEMBER 15, 1942

Total membership	
Individuals	
Life	446*
Annual	2747
Institutions	
25-year memberships	6
Annual	384
Total	3583
Total paid membership, including life members	2592
Delinquent	
Year ending February 28, 1943	21
Year ending May 31, 1943	15
Year ending August 31, 1943	633
Year ending November 30, 1943	306
Over two years (foreign)	16
Total	991
Loss	
**Deaths	34
Resignations	56
Dropped	194
Total	284
Gain	
New members	218
Former members re-entered	34
Total	252
Net loss	32

*During the year fourteen life members have died and four have been added. Of the four added, one was a former member and three were annual members who changed over to life memberships.

**List will be published in *Annual Report* together with other detailed data on membership.

must be given serious consideration by the Board of Editors and the active membership of the Association. The number of available articles is not now, and may not be in the immediate future, sufficient to give a comfortable sense of editorial security. This decrease in the submission of possible articles was to be expected under conditions that affect all scholars directly or indirectly; nevertheless, although the standards of the *Review* have been generally regarded as well-guarded, there is an unnecessary timidity among young scholars in submitting their work. At the worst a proffered article can only come back with suggestions that are certainly well meant and friendly. And the only way to learn to write is to learn to think and be willing to write and rewrite that which is worth thinking about. The first essay in scholarship after the compulsory doctor's thesis is the great venture, and any editor interested in scholarship is glad to see it, even if it does not fit his particular publication. He may help the young scholar dehisce out of the carapels of the master's or doctor's thesis, even if he is not interested in unpolished blocks quarried from such compositions. The older scholars should be represented more often in the *Review*. The president's address is now the only certain contribution from this group.

One may speak in a more cheerful tone about the section of the *Review* devoted to reviews. Whether with or without reason the editor views this section with considerable satisfaction. The list of reviewers has grown and some of the reviews have been notable in their excellence. It is the editor's purpose to review, or at least to note, as wide a list of books as is justifiable. This means the inclusion not only of books directly in many fields of history but of books that the alert historical scholar wants to know about. At present the receipt of books worthy of some consideration is satisfactory. There is an almost total cessation of historical works from abroad. The same is true of foreign historical periodicals, and I can speak only with praise of the work done by the sectional editors in ferreting out and listing each quarter such a considerable number of articles in their fields.

To return to the reviewers. Those who have accepted a commission have been generous in giving thought and time to their work. There is an occasional delinquent who accepts a request and then does not respond to reminders or return the book. If such negligence were common, it would destroy the interest of publishers in sending books for review and in the end lower the value of our common enterprise. The editor, I may add, has a real respect for the reviewer who tells him the book is not worth the space he has assigned and cuts the assigned wordage to fit his judgment.

If in no other way, perhaps, this year in the history of the *Review* will be sufficiently set off by the change in its format and typography. There seemed

to be every reason for a historical periodical to recognize that the passing years bring change. Nowhere has that been more evident than in the graphic arts, in the printing and designing of books and periodicals. Art is a way of life, not something esoteric and cloistered in museums. The excellent advice that was given freely in redesigning the *Review* has given us a periodical which in appearance is both dignified and distinguished. In this phrase I am only summing up the many letters that have come to the writer's desk since the October issue went out.

There have been surprisingly few cancellations. One young scholar going into service sent in his subscription for three years, so that he would have an unbroken file when he came back. Let us hope he does come back both for his own sake and because by such spirits is scholarship sustained and the future assured not for this Association alone. Older men who cannot go into service might well consider the possibility of carrying the membership of younger men who do and are thus obliged to suspend their membership for the duration. Our younger colleagues will need the equipment of scholarship when they return as they now need the equipment of warfare. I can testify that some of them on their way from training camps to actual service find time to come to this office to examine eagerly the last *Review* or a new book in their field.

Volume XLVII of the *Review* (October, 1941-July, 1942) contained 1,021 pages, including an annual index of 40 pages, as compared with 1,064 pages in Volume XLVI. The total number of articles, notes and suggestions, and documents was 20, the same as in Volume XLVI. Volume XLVII contains 301 reviews as against 290 in Volume XLVI and 336 notices as against 380, a total of reviews and notices of 637 as compared with 670 in Volume XLVI, a decrease of approximately 5 per cent. During the period September 1, 1941-August 15, 1942, 82 articles, notes and suggestions, and documents were submitted. Of these 13 were accepted, 68 declined, and 1 is under consideration. The figure 82 generously includes everything submitted to the *Review*, and is a figure for the record rather than an indication of possible usable material. There are still people who think that minor local incidents, term papers, genealogies, or their views on some subject are eligible for the pages of the *Review*. Twelve major articles were published, including the presidential address and an account of the annual meeting of the Association at Chicago. Of these (exclusive of the account of the meeting) 5 were in the field of European history, 1 in ancient history, 3 in American history, 1 in economic history, and 1 was a general article (a study of Doctors of Philosophy in history). There were 4 documentary contributions, 3 in American history and 1 in European history.

Because of the combination of the offices of the American Historical Association, it is impossible to separate as in the past the expenses of the *Review* from those of the Association. Postage and the services of the small staff are spread over both these major responsibilities of the central office. The net cost to the Association of printing the *Review*, after deducting the contribution of the publishers to editorial expenses and the Association's share of profits of publication, amounted to \$3,542.53, an increase of \$1.17 over the cost of last year. The loss on the sale of the ten-year index has been reduced by the sale during the year of 11 copies with an aggregate return of \$19.96. I should like to repeat what I said last year about the ten-year index, namely, that it "is still short of paying for itself, although the actual editorial work on it was done in the offices of the *Review* without additional cost. It seems rather surprising that with over thirty-five hundred members in the Association, all of them receiving the *Review*, less than 500 copies of the last ten-year index have so far been sold."

The term of Professor William C. Langer as a member of the Board of Editors expired and the Council elected Thad W. Riker to replace him. Miss Margaret Blegen has succeeded Miss Florence Miller as assistant editor. My secretary as executive of the Association, Miss Harriet Bohning, assists in proofreading and other services to the *Review*.

REPORT OF THE EDITOR OF *SOCIAL EDUCATION*¹

The report last year indicated that if *Social Education* did not have increased support or reduced expenses the reserve fund from the Carnegie grant would presumably be exhausted at the end of three years. During the past year several economies have been introduced, and the draft on the reserve in 1942-43 should not exceed \$900 as against \$2192.48 in 1941-42. The cost of publication has been reduced about 23 per cent, in spite of some increases in paper prices and labor rates; this reduction has resulted because of a decrease from 80 pages to 48 pages, but with a net loss of text of about 22 per cent. Also the position of managing editor was discontinued. The advertising manager entered the army in July, 1942, and since that time the responsibility for the sale of advertising has been assumed by the editor and the secretary in the editorial office.

The average number of paid subscriptions has been over 3,800, of which more than five sixths are members of the National Council for the Social Studies.

The war has received much attention in articles, editorials, and all of the

¹ Summary of report submitted by Dr. Erling M. Hunt, editor.

departments of *Social Education*; the bases and possibilities of future peace settlement and of postwar reconstruction have also received attention. The long-neglected areas of the Far East, Canada, and Latin America have also been given space, as have the geography of the air age and efforts to stimulate wartime legislation on the teaching of American political history.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE *ANNUAL REPORT*²

"Three volumes have appeared during the past year—*Instructions to the British Ministers to the United States, 1791-1812*, edited by Bernard Mayo and forming Volume III of the *Annual Report* for 1936; *Writings on American History for 1937 and 1938*, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin and associates and forming Volume II of the *Annual Report* for 1937; and *Proceedings* for 1940, constituting the entire *Annual Report* for that year and containing the usual record of the Association's and of the Pacific Coast Branch's activities for 1940 as well as the reports of the Conference of Historical Societies and of the Conference on Latin-American History for the same year.

"Volume I of the *Annual Report* for 1941 is being printed this week and will be issued at an early date. It includes the Association's and the Pacific Coast Branch's proceedings for 1941; a report covering the Fifteenth Conference on Latin-American History; *Private Letters from the British Embassy in Washington to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville, 1880-1885*, edited by Professor Paul Knaplund and Dr. Carolyn Clewes; and a list of manuscript accessions in United States depositories in 1940, compiled by Mrs. Margaret S. Eliot.

"Volumes II and III of the *Annual Report* for 1941 are also in manufacture and are scheduled for publication shortly after Christmas. Volume II is entitled *Talleyrand in America as a Financial Promoter, 1794-1796: Unpublished Letters and Memoirs*. It was translated and edited by Hans Huth and Wilma J. Pugh. Volume III contains a *List of Doctoral Dissertations (and Research Projects) in History Now in Progress at Universities in the United States and the Dominion of Canada*, continuing the series long published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington's Division of Historical Research and more recently as a supplement to the *American Historical Review*.

"As *Writings on American History* will be published under the auspices of the Albert J. Beveridge Fund Committee starting with the 1939-40 volume, it is no longer charged against the Association's Government Printing Office

² Report submitted by Dr. Lowell J. Ragatz, chairman, quoted and summarized.

credit, and the Committee on the *Annual Report* is now in a position to enlarge its publication program—a happy circumstance which should greatly increase the work's usefulness. A credit of \$10,620 is available for the present fiscal year, ending June 30, 1943. Plans for the 1942-43 series are as yet in the formative state, but it may be mentioned that, in addition to the usual proceedings, Volume I will include a membership list and other material now in process of selection, and it is hoped that Volume II may consist of a collection of edited letters from the British minister in Berlin in the Bismarck period. If the budget permits, a third volume will likewise be scheduled.

"A special committee named by the Executive Secretary of the Association upon this committee's request (Dr. Solon J. Buck, chairman; Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, Dr. Lester J. Cappon) is now considering the possibility of publishing a selective bibliography of American history, based upon an elaborate W.P.A. project recently completed, and will report in due course. Such an undertaking would not, however, affect plans for the current fiscal year.

"It is recommended in this connection that the Council make known to the membership at large the possibility of publishing collections of documentary material, especially in the American history field, now that the committee must no longer include *Writings* in its program, and that individuals be encouraged to submit edited groups of papers and the like to the committee, with a view to their acceptance for publication. While, of course, no royalties are paid, a wide distribution throughout the profession and among the libraries of the world is assured, and this factor will, in most cases, outweigh the monetary ones. Any such program beyond the current year is, however, dependent on the printing budget of the Smithsonian Institution.

"As announced in the *Annual Report* for 1932 (p. 51), a grant of \$2,000 was secured a decade ago from the American Council of Learned Societies for the preparation of a cumulative index to *Writings in American History* from 1906 through 1930, under the supervision of Dr. David M. Matteson. A complete collection of *Writings* indices in duplicate form was assembled with considerable difficulty, some from bound volumes, some from sets of final page proof, and some in photostat form, and work ultimately got under way. It was planned to complete the project in 1938 (*Annual Report* for 1936, p. 18). It has, however, always been carried on only on a part-time basis of from fifteen to twenty-five hours a week, as Dr. Matteson has been regularly employed by the Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission and in preparing an *Index to the Writings of Washington*. The manuscript is

still far from complete, due to the fact that the scope of the indices varied greatly over the quarter of a century, and this in many cases necessitated virtual reindexing to achieve desired uniformity. Of the \$2,000 available for the project, \$500 was turned over to the Association at once, but as Dr. Matteson has never presented a bill, it remains in the treasury of the Association.

"In view of the time lapse and because of the further fact that a natural break in the publication of the series occurred with the appearance of the 1937-38 volume, the last one published by the Government Printing Office, it is the opinion of the committee that the project should be extended to include the 1931 through 1937-38 volumes and that the cumulative index in this enlarged form should be published as speedily as possible, so that scholars may enjoy the benefit of its use. There seems a reasonable prospect that Dr. Matteson will be able and willing to devote a major portion of his time to the preparation of this index."

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS³

"The Committee on Government Publications during 1942 bent its energies to a difficult, wartime task—that of the continuance of the most important government historical publications. In this time of crisis it is particularly difficult, if not impossible, for the fiscal divisions in our great Federal departments and agencies, for the Bureau of the Budget, for the Senate and House appropriation committees and conference committees, to find time to inform themselves thoroughly on the many aspects of the publication programs. In this situation, proffered information as to the relative values of publications is to a degree welcome and effective, if concise, discriminating, unprejudiced, frank, and well-timed. Therefore, your committee has undertaken, as far as possible, to aid by following the most important publications through the legislative process. Numerous members of the Association, conversant with particular matters, have been drafted for co-operative efforts at appropriate junctures and have responded generously. This effort has helped to safeguard some publication programs.

"Considerable thought has been given to the work entailed if this sort of undertaking is to be continued 'for the duration.' To follow through all the historical publication programs of the government agencies would perhaps be too burdensome; but the more important should be aided. Members are invited to apprise the committee as to which publications they deem indispensable in the various series and as to new, wartime issues of which there are a number. The committee can be of great service in the overall wartime

³ Report submitted by Mrs. Jeannette P. Nichols, chairman.

picture with its special programs and special opportunities and emergencies, if it can ascertain, in time, which series are in jeopardy and which of these are dispensable and which of greatest worth. Thus may the best be preserved. The committee would further suggest that government documents receive much less notice in periodicals than they merit and that Association members might well encourage more frequent reviews of them in many historical magazines appearing over the country."

LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS AND RESEARCH PROJECTS

The list of doctoral dissertations and research projects, previously published as a supplement to the April issue of the *Review*, for 1941 will be published, as a matter of economy, in Volume III of the *Annual Report*, and extra copies will be sold by the Government Printing Office. It will presumably be the last list for the duration of the war and perhaps until normal conditions in the scholarly world have been resumed.

REPORT OF THE BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FUND COMMITTEE⁴

"The committee has had under its direction, as during the preceding year, two major programs: first, the continuation of the series of monographs on American history; and, second, the continuation of the bibliography entitled *Writings in American History*. In addition, it has been involved in clearing up certain old commitments relating to the earlier documentary series, which were inherited from actions taken some years ago. The committee held two meetings, as has been customary, during the past twelve months; the first at Chicago on December 30, 1941, in connection with the A.H.A. sessions, and the second at Lexington on May 9, 1942, in connection with the M.V.H.A. meetings. All members were present at both sessions, and Dr. Guy Stanton Ford attended the second as Executive Secretary of the Association.

"During the present calendar year two works have been published for the Association by the committee through the D. Appleton-Century Company, and in terms of the existing contract with that firm. These are H. C. Perkins' *Northern Editorials on Secession* and Mrs. C. H. Kirby's *George Keith*. The former was one of the older, documentary series, the latter the first of the new monograph series to appear. No report on sales has as yet been received. It will be noted, in the financial statement appended, that the cost of publishing the Kirby monograph (\$687) was much less than that for the Perkins documents (\$3,812). This disparity in the costs of documentary and monographic items was perhaps a factor in the committee's decision, three years ago, to abandon the former type of publication for the latter.

⁴ Report submitted by Dr. Richard H. Shryock, chairman, quoted and summarized.

"As noted in our last annual report (November 11, 1941), several other old commitments for the documentary series were still on the books at the beginning of the year. Some of these commitments were as much as ten years old, and all were of long standing. They occasioned some concern, since it was difficult to make allowance for such uncertain items in estimating future expenditures. The chairman, therefore, wrote all the men concerned, in November, 1941, asking for a prompt clarification of the status of their projects. As a result, one manuscript was submitted in July, 1942, and it is now being checked for publication by Miss Bertha Josephson of Columbus, Ohio, whom the committee has retained as editor. The status of the other projects was so uncertain that the chairman then consulted Dr. Ford and the other members and received their approval, as well as that of the Council, for setting a dead line this fall.

"During the spring D. Appleton-Century requested of the chairman permission to destroy unbound sheets of past Beveridge publications and also some bound copies, on the ground that the United States government had requested such action in order to secure paper pulp. Relatively large stocks were on hand and sales in most cases had been slight for some years. The chairman referred the matter to Dr. Ford, as Executive Secretary of the Association, who in turn referred it to the Council. After some discussion the committee was authorized to offer back volumes for sale at reduced prices for a limited time, in the hope that some of these could be distributed rather than destroyed. The publishers agreed to this arrangement, and Dr. Ford inserted a statement of the special prices in the October *Review*. Three hundred and twenty-four volumes have already been sold at the reduced prices. Meanwhile, in agreement with Dr. Ford, the chairman authorized the publishers to destroy obviously excessive lots of unbound sheets of certain of the older publications.

"The prospect for new manuscripts a year ago was not encouraging. Only one manuscript was submitted prior to January, 1942, and this exceeded our customary limit of about 80,000 words. It was hoped that the manuscript awarded the Beveridge prize would be submitted to this committee, and possibly other manuscripts of which the Beveridge Prize Committee thought highly. The chairman of the latter committee, Professor Hutchinson of the University of Chicago, informed us, however, that the prize essay had already been given to the Yale University Press for publication.

"In view of these circumstances, some further publicity for the Beveridge publications seemed necessary. At the chairman's request, therefore, Dr. Ford inserted a statement about the publication program in the April issue

of the *Review*. The chairman also called it again to the attention of the profession through personal letters sent to professors of American history in more than fifty of the better-known colleges and universities. The result was moderately encouraging. Between May and August seven manuscripts were submitted. One other, which was sent back because of excessive length, and which the author promised to reduce, has not been returned.

"The committee has already completed the examination of five of the manuscripts, has declined to accept three, and has agreed to publish two of them. These are:

Harry Bernstein, *Foundations of U. S. Interest in Latin America, 1700-1810*
Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*

In reaching its decisions, the committee has been mindful of its established standards relating to the importance of the subject, the scholarly character of the work, and the quality of the writing. Authors are informed that the manuscripts must be in good shape prior to submission in order to reduce editorial expenses to a minimum. Publication will be placed in the hands of D. Appleton-Century as heretofore.

"The obligations of the committee for the *Writings in American History*, and our plans concerning this publication, were explained in the last annual report. In pursuance of these plans, Miss Griffin and her associates have worked intensively during the past year in preparing the cards for the next double volume for 1939-40, and it is expected that these will be ready about the end of this calendar year. As soon as available, these will be submitted to several publishers for publication estimates. As explained in the last report, the costs of publishing the *Writings* will be substantial, but should be lower than they were heretofore with the Government Printing Office. Much time will also be saved by placing them in the hands of a private firm.

"As soon as Miss Griffin and her associates are free, they will be requested to begin work on the 1941 volume or—if it will save time and is feasible—on a double volume for 1941-42. In this way it is hoped to reduce further the time-lag in publication until it reaches the minimum interval possible.

"As explained last year, it is understood that the first volume issued under the auspices of the committee (1939-40) will not be distributed to the membership of the A.H.A., but will be offered for sale at a price determined by the committee after consultation with the secretary and the publishers. Sales are very uncertain (hence the initial cost to the committee for publishing will be high); but it is assumed that the Association will co-operate in providing publicity, and some modest advertising may prove desirable.

"The financial situation of the committee is satisfactory for the time being, ample funds being available for any undertakings planned for next year. It will be noted in the appended statement, however, that disbursements exceeded receipts by nearly \$4,000 during the past year. At this rate the accumulated income would be exhausted in less than five years from this time. Actually, it will be spent sooner than this, since expenditures last year were unusually low. (Only two publications were issued.) During the next year costs will be higher. A rough estimate of these costs would appear as follows:

Three monographs, at \$1,000 each	\$3,000
Double volume of <i>Writings</i> (pub.)	5,000
Editorial work on next volume of <i>Writings</i>	2,200
Miscellaneous	800
Total	<hr/> \$11,000

Subtracting from this an estimated income of \$3,000 (optimistic!) would leave a net loss of accumulated income of \$8,000. The present accumulated income (as of August 1) is about \$20,000. By next August this will therefore be reduced to about \$12,000. Should one of the delayed manuscripts be published, it will be reduced to at least \$9,000. At this rate the committee can expect to carry on its present program at best for about two more years from this date, and it might have to curtail monograph publications after the coming year. The only promise in this situation is the possible returns from sales of the 1939-40 volume of the *Writings* (unpredictable) and small royalties on other recent publications.

"The committee is doing what it can to economize in view of this general situation. The elimination of grant-in-aid awards and the shift to monographic rather than documentary publications will both effect substantial savings in the long run. It is unfortunate in this connection, however, that the long-overdue commitments for documentary works continue as obligations for the current budget.

"The committee recommends that the present program be continued for the next year. By November, 1943, it should be possible to take stock more accurately and decide what publications, if any, should be curtailed or abandoned thereafter. The basic cause for financial difficulties, of course, will be the assumption of responsibility for the *Writings*; but as this program is now well under way, it would seem a mistake not to give it a trial.

"The committee hopes that it will not be necessary to secure much further publicity for its publication program in 1943. It seems strange, in view of the

repeated complaints about lack of aid for publications, that any publicity should be needed for a series of publications of some years' standing."

REPORT ON LITTLETON-GRISWOLD FUND PUBLICATIONS⁵

"War conditions have inevitably greatly affected during the past year work on the publication program of the Committee on Legal History; nevertheless, prospects are not particularly discouraging.

"The *Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson, 1772-1773*, was published in the middle of the year as the fourth volume of American Legal Records. It is a handsome book, in every way a most interesting and creditable addition to the series. What effect the war may have upon its sale cannot yet be judged. Publication of our first New Jersey volume has been long delayed for the completion of Mr. Miller's introduction, from which he was for some time diverted by work for the state of New Jersey.

"Work on the Rhode Island manuscript is virtually complete, save for editorial labors of Dr. Boorstin that await his return from war service in Washington. Inasmuch as the materials were carefully studied and discussed by him and his graduate students, only matters of detail lie ahead. Dr. Gregorie has discovered materials that will add greatly to the value of the South Carolina volume, and Dr. Ames has made progress on the great task of the Accomac records of Virginia. Particularly welcome has been the interest and cordial aid offered us by Mr. Van Schreeven of the Virginia State Library. Prospects for both these volumes are bright, thanks to the unflagging efforts of Doctors Ames and Gregorie.

"Editorial difficulties, resulting in the main from the war, have delayed work on the Delaware and Connecticut volumes and have also very seriously altered plans for our Pennsylvania volume. However, nothing worse than delay is anticipated in any of these cases; and in the case of the Connecticut volume, disappointment over that has been more than compensated by Mr. Lacy's uncovering of file papers of precious value for the enrichment of his judicial records.

"Much the most discouraging of our setbacks has resulted in North Carolina from the dissolution of the Historical Records Survey, upon whose aid we had counted for the discovery and classification of file papers belonging to the cases that appear in the judicial records there chosen for publication. However, since Dr. Crittenden has from the beginning been keenly interested in promoting the appearance of North Carolina materials in our series, it is possible that the State Historical Commission may find

⁵ Report submitted by Dr. Francis S. Philbrick, chairman, quoted and summarized.

some way of carrying forward the aid that the Historical Records Survey had undertaken.

"No additions to our series will be initiated until after the publication of two or three more of the manuscripts now in progress. It is to be expected that by that time the return of peace will afford promise of stability in such undertakings."

A financial statement of the Littleton-Griswold Fund for the fiscal year September 1, 1941, to August 31, 1942, shows a balance on hand on the latter date of \$7,168.26 as against \$8,253.88 on the like date in 1941.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE CARNEGIE REVOLVING FUND⁶

"The work of the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund has gone forward during the past year at a rapid pace, despite the difficulties involved in a change in chairmanship and a considerable change in the personnel of the committee. The committee has examined four new manuscripts, re-examined three manuscripts previously submitted, has printed one volume (Luther P. Jackson, *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860*), and has accepted three manuscripts for publication (Grace Lee Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness, Radisson and Des Groseilliers, 1618-1710*, to be published in February; Margaret Hastings, *The Court of Common Pleas in 15th Century England*; Louis C. Hunter, *An Economic and Technological History of Steamboating on the Western Waters in the 19th Century*).

"The committee is deeply appreciative of financial assistance received from the Advisory Board of the American Council of Learned Societies, Mr. Donald Goodchild, chairman, in the publication of the Jackson volume. Application has been made for financial assistance for the Nute volume, and applications will be made for both the Hastings and the Hunter manuscripts. Without such subsidies the committee could not carry out its present commitments in less than three or four years without unduly depleting its capital fund.

"The committee has corresponded with a number of authors and has been helpful in connection with at least one manuscript submitted to another learned society. The committee has also considered the wisdom of advertising the fund more widely within the profession, fixing a date for the submission of manuscripts, and defining within rather wide limits our requirements. Action along these lines has not yet been taken but may be forthcoming during the next calendar year.

⁶ Report submitted by Professor Sidney R. Packard, chairman.

"The chairman, who was obliged to read the records of the committee from 1936 down to date in order to familiarize himself with the methods and the policies of the committee, feels that he should express at this time and in this place his conviction that the American Historical Association is very considerably indebted to his predecessor, Professor John D. Hicks, now of the University of California. The books published by the Carnegie Fund under the chairmanship of Professor Hicks reflect only a part of the energy and the skill which he devoted to the work of this committee."

A financial statement shows that the balance on hand to the credit of the committee was \$9,335.00 on August 31, 1942, as against \$8,998.81 on August 31, 1941.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON AMERICANA FOR COLLEGE LIBRARIES⁷

Fifteen selected college libraries are participating in the plan, which follows the operations outlined in previous reports. As was indicated in the 1941 report, the fund reduced the book appropriation from \$8,000 to \$2,000 and the deficit was made up from the liquidation of the original stock. The Trustees of the McGregor Fund now find themselves "confronted with urgent and imperative needs to help keep alive a number of projects of a necessitous nature and also to provide additional funds to meet public appeals which must be supported if our country is to survive." And "The Trustees ask, therefore, that the Association arrange to suspend the work of the special committee in charge of the 'McGregor Plan' at the end of the present fiscal year, August 31, 1943."

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RADIO⁸

"The Story behind the Headlines" has been presented every Sunday evening since Pearl Harbor by the A.H.A., in co-operation with the National Broadcasting Company, over a nation-wide network. This program has constituted a definite war activity for the Association, for the broadcasts have inevitably been concerned with backgrounds of the war, each talk treating that phase which is, at the moment, most important.

The preparation of this program during the past year has been difficult, as many historians, among them consultants of the "Story behind the Headlines," have gone into service of one kind or another, and also because of the unpredictable nature of the headlines. The generosity and friendly co-operation of the National Broadcasting Company and the untiring efforts of the committee have made it possible for the program to continue and to

⁷ Summary of report submitted by Dr. Randolph G. Adams.

⁸ Summary of report submitted by Dr. Conyers Read, chairman.

make a contribution to the war effort by "cooperating with the N.B.C. in disseminating sound and important knowledge necessary to a better understanding of the important issues in the world today."

PRIZES OFFERED BY THE ASSOCIATION

The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Committee for 1942 awards the prize to E. Harris Harbison for his *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* and gives honorable mention to W. F. Church for his *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth Century France* and to R. R. Palmer for his *Twelve Who Ruled: The Committee of Public Safety during the Terror*.

The George Louis Beer Prize Committee makes no award for 1942.

The John H. Dunning Prize Committee unanimously awards the prize to Oscar Handlin for his book *Boston's Immigrants* and gives honorable mention to David M. Potter for his book *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis*. Twelve books and manuscripts were submitted, and the committee felt that the results of the policy of seeking quality and not quantity justified continuation of the policy.

REPORT OF DELEGATE TO SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL⁹

"The Social Science Research Council has been considering several matters of interest to the historical guild during the past year.

"1. Its Committee on Control of Social Data has been at work to aid in the great task of keeping a proper record of the war effort and of promoting the writing of the history of the war in a fashion which will be of greatest benefit to social science. This committee secured the co-operation of Dr. Lester J. Cappon of the University of Virginia and has published a pamphlet designed to stimulate better keeping of war records in the states. This pamphlet will be distributed throughout the United States by the Committee on the Conservation of Cultural Resources. A small conference was held upon the recommendation of the Committee on the Control of Social Data, which prepared the outline of a plan for a history of the war. This plan was turned over to the Executive Director of the S.S.R.C., so that he might investigate the possibility of securing funds for carrying it into effect.

"2. The Committee on the Guide to Local History is glad to report that it has secured the manuscript of such a guide from Dr. Donald E. Parker. This is in the process of being edited by Dr. C. C. Coleman of North Carolina and other members of the committee. It is planned to publish this guide early in the new year.

"3. Under the direction of the Problems and Policy Committee of the

⁹ Report submitted by Professor Roy F. Nichols, delegate.

S.S.R.C., Mr. Nichols prepared a review of current research trends in American history. This report was submitted to several historians for criticism and then considered by the Problems and Policy Committee of the S.S.R.C. This report and several accompanying documents were submitted to a conference which met at the Council office in November. To this conference were invited Charles A. Beard, Crane Brinton, Paul W. Gates, Louis Gottschalk, John A. Krout, Wallace Notestein, Richard H. Shryock, and the three members of the S.S.R.C. from the American Historical Association. The results of this conference will be given further consideration by the Problems and Policy Committee at its December meeting.

"The Social Science Research Council has devoted a larger proportion of its time and effort to historical interests this year than in any other for some time past."

REPORT OF REPRESENTATIVE ON THE NATIONAL PARKS ASSOCIATION BOARD¹⁰

"Unfortunately, due to the demands for economy in non-war expenditures, there has been a curtailment in the historical activities of the National Park Service. Sometime in the near future I hope to write to the president of the National Parks Association presenting some of my ideas concerning possible historical activities during these war times."

Any reader of these reports must come away with a vivid sense of the many activities of the Association. I feel that I speak for the whole membership when I express gratitude for the labors of the chairmen and the committee members who have helped the Association to realize the purposes for which it was founded fifty-eight years ago.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL
ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 30, 1942,
10:00 A.M.

Present: Arthur M. Schlesinger, President; Nellie Neilson, First Vice President; Merle E. Curti, Benjamin B. Kendrick, Carl Stephenson, Councilors; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary. Professor Osgood Hardy appeared as delegate of the Pacific Coast Branch. Dr. Waldo Leland and Miss Ella Lonn were present for part of the meeting.

Upon motion the minutes of the 1941 meeting of the Council and of the

¹⁰ From report submitted by Mr. B. Floyd Flickinger, representative.

annual business meeting (December 30, 1941) were approved without being read, as were the minutes for the meeting of the Executive Committee on May 14, 1942.

Dr. Ford reported on the action taken by the chairman of the Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee and himself in making available for sale at reduced prices certain volumes published by the committee. These volumes were overstocked and the publishing company wished to dispose of them either by sale or as salvage. He also reported that the McGregor Fund, due to other commitments and limited funds, had withdrawn its support of the Committee on Americana for College Libraries as of August 31, 1943.

The cards for the Bibliography of American Travel are now in the custody of Dr. Solon J. Buck at the National Archives. As yet they have not been made available for general use but will be at some time in the future. In the meantime scholars may make special arrangements to consult them.

Dr. Ford reported that the annual list of doctoral dissertations and research projects for 1941 is being published as Volume III of the *Annual Report* for 1941. Dr. Schlesinger suggested that the annual list be suspended for the duration. This was placed in the form of a motion by Mr. Curti, seconded by Dr. Buck. It was carried unanimously. By earlier action the Executive Committee had approved the limitation of future issues to the list of doctoral dissertations.

The question of abolishing the office of second vice president was raised at the Council meeting in 1941. No action was taken, but the sentiment of the Council at that time favored abolishing the office. At the current meeting Professor Kendrick made the motion that the Executive Secretary draw up an amendment to the Constitution, in the proper legal language, such an amendment to provide for the abolition of the present office of second vice president. This motion was seconded by Professor Curti and passed unanimously. The amendment must be submitted to the membership of the Association at least twenty days before the next regular business meeting. This will be done through a notice in the October, 1943, issue of the *Review*.

Dr. Ford reported on the activities of the office of the Executive Secretary in soliciting members. This method was substituted for the usual membership committee. The results have justified the procedure, as may be seen in the report on membership.

By action of the Association in the business meeting in Chicago, December, 30, 1941, a motion to change the time of the annual meeting was referred to the Executive Committee, which was directed to explore the

possibilities. The matter was considered by the Executive Committee and they reported to this meeting of the Council that they had not found it possible to suggest a more suitable date. There is no common time for the spring vacation, and the first weeks of September find many members returning to campuses or seeking vacation between summer sessions and fall openings. As schedules are at present, the Christmas vacation leaves most members freer to attend than any other time. If pressure on transportation at Christmas continues, it is within the power of the Executive Committee to set some other date as well as change the place. The few members from out of Washington who attended the Council meeting reported that in the days between the beginning and end of vacation and the beginning and end of furloughs they had found no great difficulty in securing reservations.

The Executive Secretary reported that the provisions in the Constitution made it impossible to confer a life membership on Dr. Albert Shaw, who had been a regular member for more than fifty years. It will be recalled that the Executive Committee had approved such membership, if possible within the Constitution.

The Council heard the report of Miss Ella Lonn, chairman of the Committee on Nominations. Miss Lonn dealt, as have previous chairmen in successive years, with the futilities and absurdities and waste of time inherent in the present procedures. The preferential ballot in the spring had been returned by only 218 members. These ballots nominated anybody and everybody, members and non-members, the living and the dead. Very considerable numbers named for the second vice presidency persons wholly unknown except to the nominator. And in one case an individual desired to fill all offices from the history department of one institution. The committee this year found that in other misunderstandings and misapplications of the preferential ballot their experience paralleled that of Dr. Paul Buck (reported at the Chicago meeting; see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 703). The Committee on Nominations felt strongly that the procedure should be corrected and at once. They had agreed upon an alternate method and Miss Lonn was asked to propose it definitely at the business meeting.

By a motion made and seconded the Council unanimously approved Miss Lonn's suggestion that the new members of the Committee on Nominations be notified as soon as their choice is indicated so that they may be able to attend the annual meeting and hold a preliminary discussion of their procedure at that time. There was general approval without formal vote of the suggestion of the Executive Secretary that the requirement of the Constitution would be met if the list of offices to be filled were published in the

Review before the date required, together with a request to the members to send to the chairman of the Committee on Nominations their suggestions of possible nominees for the consideration of the Committee on Nominations in making up the slate. At this time such a procedure would be a wise economy and might evoke more considered responses than those produced by the present procedure.

On a motion made and carried the following were named members of the Executive Committee for 1943: Benjamin B. Kendrick, chairman; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Carl Stephenson, Ralph Gabriel; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer, and Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary, *ex officio*.

Messrs. Buck, Ford, and Kendrick were named members of the Finance Committee.

Dr. Ford reported that in response to a request from the Office of Education, President Schlesinger had appointed Miss Bessie L. Pierce, chairman, James L. Cate, S. W. Halperin, W. T. Hutchinson, Walter Johnson, J. A. O. Larsen, Harley F. MacNair, and J. Fred Rippey as a special committee to report before August 15, 1942, on an outline of a year's course in American history adapted to present war conditions. Miss Pierce and her associates fulfilled this commission, and the report reached the Office of Education before the desired date. As the War Department has since taken over the responsibility of outlining courses in history and the social sciences as well as technical subjects for the trainees returned to college, the report of this committee will presumably not be made available by the Office of Education.

The Council discussed the possibility of holding the annual meeting in 1943. Dr. Ford read a letter from Professor A. R. M. Lower of United College, Winnipeg, president of the Canadian Historical Association. Professor Lower reported the deep interest of our Canadian colleagues in any action taken by the American Historical Association with regard to future meetings. Their own and similar organizations in Canada had discussed the matter thoroughly as to this year and the future:

Our feeling was that our societies are semi-public bodies, that many of our members are either in Government service regularly during the war or serve government from time to time and that almost all directly or indirectly contribute to the war effort. We felt that these annual meetings are helpful, if not essential, to our members, at no time more so than during the war when there are so many new problems to be discussed and so many old ones to be re-examined. Further, it seemed to us that continuance of such meetings was necessary if the values of our civilization, for which we fight, are to be maintained. That is, during the short run, it seemed to be our duty to stand for a certain point of view and expound certain doctrines central to our western way of life and during the long run to do our best to stand as guardians of the future by keeping alight the flame of culture

and scholarship. . . . Therefore since there have been no positive orders against meeting and no direct request not to do so, we propose to carry on.

The Council's discussion of the matter was of the same tenor as the excellent statement by Dr. Lower. It was recognized that no other action could have been taken this year when the communication from the Office of Defense Transportation was put in the form of a request.

Following the general discussion and on motion of Professor Carl Stephenson, it was unanimously agreed that it was the sense of the Council that we should plan a meeting in New York in 1943 of such a character as is suitable to the situation at that time and, if such a meeting takes the form of a program session, that there be but a two-day session. It would remain within the power of the Executive Committee to meet any emergency requiring a suspension or modification of this plan.

The Council had before it the matter of publishing a general index to all the volumes of *Writings in American History* published under the auspices of the Association. The last such volume to be published by the Association through the Government Printing Office will be the combined volume for 1937-38. Dr. Matteson undertook this task some years ago when the terminal date was fixed at 1930. At that time the Association secured from the Carnegie Corporation through the good offices of the American Council of Learned Societies a grant of \$2,000. This money remains unexpended, although Dr. Matteson has done considerable work intermittently. Dr. Ragatz, chairman of the Committee on the Publication of the *Annual Reports*, has been in conference with Dr. Matteson, who thinks that when certain present tasks are discharged he may be able to give the major part of his time to the compilation of the index. The labor and time required will be materially increased by the revisions necessitated by the inclusion of the volumes since 1930. The Executive Secretary and Mr. Leland were authorized to seek at the proper time additional funds for the preparation of the manuscript if it were found that the present grant was insufficient. There will then remain the very serious problem of the expense of publication.

The Council next heard from Mr. Leland an interesting and informing account of the activities and present status of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, organized after the International Historical Congress held in Brussels in 1923. The American Historical Association is a contributing member of the International Committee, whose origin in 1926 was due in large part to the efforts of American scholars. The last congress and the last meeting of the full committee were held in Zurich in 1938, and the last meeting of the governing board in Luxembourg in May, 1939. Dr.

Leland is one of the delegates of the Association in the committee and at present president of the International Committee. Of the many activities of the International Committee of Historical Sciences in the promotion of scholarship the most evident and continuous has been the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, of which fourteen volumes have now been published. This bibliography was set up to take the place of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, which ceased in 1916. The last volume was prepared and printed in a limited edition in unoccupied France under the greatest difficulties and will not be available in America until it is reproduced in this country by some offset process. Mr. Leland reported that in order to continue this evidence of the council's continuity the responsible editor, M. Jaryc, was brought to this country. He arrived in July and is now in Washington, with working quarters in the Library of Congress. He is preparing the next volume, which is fairly well along. Funds for continuing this work will be expended by July 1, 1943. Dr. Leland hoped that the Council of the American Historical Association would join in an effort to secure refinancing of this work and of the work of the International Committee for a period of two years and for the compilation and publication of the *Bibliography*.

It was the sense of the Council in a motion made by Miss Neilson, seconded by Mr. Curti, that the Association authorize its officers to support efforts to secure the necessary funds. Professor Stephenson made a motion, which was approved, that a special subcommittee of the Council be appointed to keep in touch with and be available for consultation on the preparation of the *Bibliography*.¹¹

The Council discussed plans for a history of the present war that had been outlined in an informal conference called the preceding day by the Archivist of the United States. The Council approved for presentation to the business meeting the summary of agreements reached at this conference on a war history commission. (See minutes of the business meeting.)

The Council authorized the Executive Secretary to use any funds made available for such purposes to pay the membership dues of members of the Association who have gone into service and are, therefore, obliged to let their membership lapse.

The Council elected Professor Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University to replace Professor Schlesinger as one of the three representatives of the American Historical Association on the Social Science Research Council.

¹¹ President Neilson has appointed the following members of the Council to serve on this committee: Carl Stephenson, chairman; S. J. Buck, and J. S. Schapiro.

The continuing members are Professors Curti and Nichols. The Council re-elected Professor Wallace Notestein of Yale University as the delegate of the Association on the governing board of the American Council of Learned Societies. The other delegate is Professor W. S. Ferguson of Harvard, whose term expires in 1944.

The Council approved the action of the Executive Secretary in declining membership in the A.A.A.S. and referred to the Executive Committee the question of determining, if necessary, a list of affiliated societies participating in the annual program.

In a lively discussion the Council manifested its keen interest in the character and conduct of courses in American history and the social sciences to be given trainees returned to college by the Army. It was reported that such action as had been taken by the Army had been without reference to either the historical and social science groups or the committee in this field recommended by the Council on Education, this being the sole committee among the many recommended by the Council on Education which was completely ignored. For it there had been substituted a committee weighted with mathematicians and a professor of English. Only two members had historical interests, including the Army officer responsible for the committee. It was considered advisable to present the matter to the Association at the business meeting in the afternoon.

The Council then approved the appointment of the following committees for the coming year:

Board of Editors of the American Historical Review.—Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex, Managing Editor; A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota—term expires December, 1947; M. L. W. Laistner, Cornell University—term expires December, 1947; William E. Lunt, Haverford College—term expires December, 1946; Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester—term expires December, 1943; J. G. Randall, University of Illinois—term expires December, 1945; Thad W. Riker, University of Texas—term expires December, 1948.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—W. K. Jordan, University of Chicago, chairman (resigned); C. W. de Kiewiet, Cornell University; V. J. Puryear, 657 D Street, Davis, California.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Troyer Anderson, State University of Iowa, chairman; H. N. Howard, Miami University; W. C. Langsam, Union College.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize.—Lewis G. Vander Velde, University of Michigan, chairman; Richard O. Cummings,

University of California at Los Angeles; Constance Green, 70 Cleveland Street, Holyoke, Massachusetts.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Charles A. Barker, Stanford University, chairman; Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon; Reginald C. McGrane, University of Cincinnati.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.—Richard H. Shryock, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Julius W. Pratt, University of Buffalo; Laura A. White, University of Wyoming.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.—Sidney R. Packard, Smith College, chairman; Ray A. Billington, Smith College; Thomas A. Brady, University of Missouri; S. H. Brockunier, Wesleyan University; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Raymond P. Stearns, 202 Vermont Avenue, Urbana, Illinois.

Committee on Committees.—Louis R. Gottschalk, University of Chicago, chairman; Arthur S. Aiton, University of Michigan; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio).

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Francis S. Philbrick, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carroll T. Bond, 3507 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; L. A. Harper, University of California (Berkeley); Mark D. Howe, Dean of Law School, University of Buffalo; Leonard W. Labarce, Yale University; Richard B. Morris, City College, New York.

Committee on Membership.—Referred to the Executive Committee.

Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report.—Lowell J. Ragatz, George Washington University, chairman; Solon J. Buck, The National Archives; Louis C. Hunter, American University; St. George L. Sioussat, Library of Congress; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio).

Committee on Radio.—Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Phillips Bradley, Queens College; Stephen Duggan, Institute of International Education, New York City; John A. Krout, Columbia University; Walter C. Langsam, Union College; Shepard Morgan, Chase National Bank, New York City; Stanley Pargellis, Newberry Library; Charles G. Proffitt, Columbia University Press; Evelyn Plummer Read, 1520 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Ralph S. Rounds, 165 Broadway, New York City; Caesar Saerchinger, 580 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Elizabeth Y. Webb, 2811 Dumbarton Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Standing Committee on Government Publications.—Jeannette Nichols, 438 Riverview Blvd., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, chairman; Hunter D. Farish,

Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., Virginia; Richard J. Purcell, Catholic University.

Delegates of the American Historical Association.—*American Council of Learned Societies*: William Scott Ferguson, Harvard University—term expires December 31, 1944; Wallace Notestein, Yale University—term expires December 31, 1946. *International Committee of Historical Sciences*: James T. Shotwell, Columbia University; Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies. *Social Science Research Council*: Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University—term expires December 31, 1945; Merle E. Curti, University of Wisconsin—term expires December 31, 1943; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December 31, 1944. *Official Representative on the National Parks Association Board*: B. Floyd Flickinger, Beargarden Farm, Star Route, Hanover, Virginia (1944). *Representatives on Social Education*: Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex; Bessie L. Pierce, University of Chicago. *Committee on Historical Source Materials*.—Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association, chairman; *Special Committee on Archives*: Emmett J. Leahy, Navy Department, chairman; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana State University; Solon J. Buck, The National Archives; Sargent B. Child, Office of Price Administration; Randolph W. Church, Virginia State Library; Charles M. Gates, University of Washington; Margaret C. Norton, Illinois State Library. *Special Committee on Manuscripts*: Lester J. Cappon, University of Virginia, chairman; John C. L. Andreassen, W.P.A., New Orleans, Louisiana; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; Whitney R. Cross, Cornell University; Roger Shugg, University of Indiana; St. George L. Sioussat, Library of Congress; Wendell H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University. *Special Committee on Newspapers*: Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga, chairman; Adeline Barry, The National Archives; E. Malcolm Carroll, Duke University; Allan Nevins, Columbia University; Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford University. *Special Committee on Business Records*: Ralph M. Hower, Harvard University, chairman; Lewis Atherton, University of Missouri; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; Oliver M. Dickerson, Colorado State Teachers College; Oliver W. Holmes, The National Archives; Guy Lee, The National Archives; William D. Overman, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. *Special Committee on Library Holdings*: Douglas C. McMurtrie, 950 Michigan Ave., Evanston, Illinois, chairman; James A. Barnes, Temple University; Gilbert H. Doane, University of Wisconsin; A. F. Kuhlman, Vanderbilt University; George A. Schwegmann, jr., Library of Congress. *Special Committee on Preservation and*

Restoration of Historical Objects: H. E. Kahler, National Park Service, Department of Interior, Chicago, chairman; Russell H. Anderson, Museum of Science and Industry; C. C. Crittenden, North Carolina Historical Commission; Hunter D. Farish, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., Virginia; Lucile O'Connor Kellar, McCormick Historical Association; Ronald Lee, Barracks 530, 3rd Tech. School Sqd., U. S. Army, Lowry Field, Denver, Colorado. *Special Committee on British Sessional Papers:* C. W. de Kiewiet, Cornell University, chairman; Edgar L. Erickson, Chemical Warfare Division, Camp Aberdeen, Maryland; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas; Frank J. Klingberg, University of California at Los Angeles; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University. *Research Associate:* Everett E. Edwards, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Ford reported that the following ad interim appointments of delegates had been made during 1942: *John L. La Monte* was the delegate to the forty-sixth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. *William S. Ferguson* was the delegate to the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the American Oriental Society. *Thomas P. Abernethy* was the delegate to the centennial celebration of Hollins College. *William L. Westermann* was the delegate to the inauguration of Harry Noble Wright as president of the College of the City of New York. *Milton R. Gutsch* was the delegate to the inauguration of John Nelson Russell Score as president of Southwestern University. *C. D. Johns* was the delegate to the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. *W. T. Root* was the delegate to the inauguration of Charles Albert Anderson as president of Coe College. *R. Earl McClendon* was the delegate to the inauguration of Harmon Lowman as president of Sam Houston State Teachers College.

The Council adjourned with the agreement to hold a brief meeting at the conclusion of the business meeting in the afternoon.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN THE OFFICE
OF THE ARCHIVIST OF THE UNITED STATES, WASH-
INGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 30, 1942, 4:30 P.M.

Present: Arthur M. Schlesinger, President; Nellie Neilson, First Vice President; Merle E. Curti, Benjamin B. Kendrick, Carl Stephenson, Councilors; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary.

Dr. Buck on behalf of the Finance Committee presented the budget for

the coming year. After certain adjustments were made, due to new estimates of receipts and expenses, the corrected budget was adopted.

Professor Schlesinger made a motion extending a vote of thanks to the Executive Secretary for his report read at the business meeting and requested that in future reports the Executive Secretary follow the precedent he had set in commenting on matters he felt were of interest to the historical profession. The motion was approved.

The meeting adjourned at 5:00 P.M.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL ARCHIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 30, 1942, AT 2:30 P.M.

President Arthur M. Schlesinger presided.

The annual business meeting of the American Historical Association was held in the Conference Room of the National Archives Building. It was called to order by President Schlesinger, with some fifty or more members present.

On behalf of the Association President Schlesinger extended thanks to Dr. Buck for the hospitality shown the Association in making available meeting rooms in the National Archives Building.

Mr. Ford then read his annual report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor and embodied in it the essential parts of the reports from the chairmen of the various committees (see p. 461 ff.).

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, then presented his report. The motion was made to accept the report and place it on file. Approved. (The report will be published in full in the *Annual Report, Proceedings for 1942*.)

The following were elected members of the Board of Trustees: W. Randolph Burgess to replace Shepard Morgan as chairman; Thomas I. Parkinson (re-elected); A. W. Page to replace Shepard Morgan on the Board. The Association took note, with regret, of the withdrawal of Mr. Shepard Morgan, who has given such excellent service as chairman of the Board. Mr. Morgan is now in war service and not available.

The Executive Secretary then reported the action of the Council on three matters: the roster of committees (see p. 487 ff.); the matter of changing the date of the annual meeting of the Association (see pp. 482-83); and the action taken concerning the meeting in 1943 (see pp. 484-85).

Dr. Hardy then presented the report of the Pacific Coast Branch—a formal report prepared by Mr. Hardin Craig, jr., Secretary-Treasurer. It

will be published in the *Annual Report, Proceedings for 1942*; this shows the Branch to be in a healthy condition, with a membership of 326, including thirty-three libraries. Their annual meeting, set for December 28-30, had been cancelled, and the present officers will retain their positions until a decision as to the election of new officers is reached. For the formal meeting the group in the Los Angeles area substituted an informal gathering at the California Institute of Technology at Pasadena on December 30. At this meeting the papers prepared for the annual meeting by those in the nearby area were read. Dr. Hardy said that at an informal conference (see *Am. Hist. Rev.* XLVIII, 451) some attention had been given to required American history courses on the West Coast because a number of so-called educators had gone overboard for progressive education in California. In many cases they do not offer American history in the grammar school, only California history. The treatment of United States history in the high schools is so diluted with extraneous material that no one knows "where anything ends and very little has even a beginning." The informal meeting had meant to emphasize by its action the need for American history somewhere in the curriculum of the schools of California.

Miss Lonn reported for the Nominating Committee that the mail vote had resulted in the following choices:

For Council members,
J. Salwyn Schapiro
Ralph H. Gabriel

For members of the Nominating Committee,
Sidney Packard, chairman
Julius Pratt
Leo Gershoy
Frances Gillespie
Elmer Ellis

Miss Lonn stated that in view of the delay and irregularity in the receipt of the ballots, enclosed with the program, all votes had been counted up to December 30.

It was moved and seconded that the Executive Secretary cast a ballot for the following officers:

For President, Nellie Neilson
For First Vice President, William L. Westermann
For Second Vice President, Carlton J. H. Hayes
For Treasurer, Solon J. Buck

The motion was unanimously carried.

Miss Lonn, retiring chairman, proposed on behalf of the Nominating Committee the following changes in the method of nominating officers:

To amend Article IV, Section 4, and Article VI, Section 2, to read:

The President, Vice President, Treasurer, and members of the Council and Nominating Committee shall be elected in the following manner. The Nominating Committee at such convenient time prior to the first of September as it may determine shall submit to the members of the Association a fairly lengthy list of nominees, from among whom each member shall indicate his first, second, and third choices for each vacancy to be filled. Accompanying the name of each nominee there shall be printed a concise statement of the nominee's career and qualifications for the office for which he is presented. This shall constitute a preferential ballot. The Nominating Committee will then submit, on the basis of the preferential vote, the two, three, or four names (as the Council and Association shall determine) of the persons receiving the highest number of votes to the membership for the final ballot.

In addition the names of any persons who may be nominated by a petition carrying the signature of twenty or more voting members of the Association must appear on the final ballot. Nomination by petition must be in the hands of the Chairman of the Nominating Committee by November 1st. The Nominating Committee shall present these nominations to the members of the Association in the ballot distributed by mail ————— (Bring over from Article VI, Section 2). In case of a tie, choice shall be made at the annual Business Meeting from among the candidates receiving the highest equal vote.

To amend Article V, Section 1 (b), to read:

Elected members (eight in number, chosen by ballot) chosen in the manner provided in (Article VI, Section 2) Article IV, Section 4.

To amend Article VI, by omitting Section 2. (Incorporated in Article IV, Section 4.)

There was some informal discussion of the motion. The general purport of the remarks was to the effect that the proposed method might involve even more labor for the Nominating Committee, especially if funds were not available for it to meet, and that the present method, even with all the absurdities and futilities that have accompanied it since its inauguration, would leave the Nominating Committee a great measure of freedom while it preserved what the initiators of the present method had considered democratic procedure.

The resolution of the Council to abolish the office of second vice president was read and discussed briefly. The resolution will take the normal procedure followed in acting on amendments to the Constitution.

Dr. Leland then presented the resolutions adopted at an informal conference called by the Archivist of the United States on December 29, to consider the possible plans for a national war history commission. The resolutions, which had been reviewed by the Council in the morning, are as follows:

AGREED: That the conference approves in principle the establishment of an official national war history commission as an independent government agency responsible to the President.

AGREED: That among the objectives of the commission should be the encourage-

ment and facilitation of the collection and preservation of source materials; the preparation of "first narratives," reports, and other consciously created sources including official accounts; the preparation of guides to sources relating to the war; the publication by print or microfilm of significant bodies of source materials; the preparation of a general history or histories of the war; and private research in the field of war history.

AGREED: That there should be appointed a steering committee to carry into effect the agreements arrived at by the conference. The chairman appointed the following steering committee:

Luther A. Evans, Chief Assistant Librarian of Congress, Chairman

Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States

Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary, American Historical Association

Pendleton Herring, Executive Secretary, Committee on Records of War Administration

Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies

After some discussion in which it was explained that, in addition to the present activity in following war administration records by representatives of the Bureau of the Budget and the activities of the Committee of the Social Science Research Council, it was thought that it would be desirable to have a national body, appointed by the highest authority and responsible to that authority, which would be charged with the responsibilities indicated in the resolution. The motion was made, seconded, and carried that the American Historical Association approve the resolutions agreed upon by the informal conference on December 29 and presented by Mr. Leland.

Professor Curti reported on the Army and the American history course for trainees returned to college. Historians have a definite contribution to make to the training of citizen soldiers. They can fulfill this function best by maintaining the highest standards of their profession. The most effective contribution by historians and social scientists can be made if considerable autonomy is left to local institutions in regard to the approach and methods of historical instruction once they know the objectives. It was moved, seconded, and carried that in an appropriate way the War Department be assured of the sincere desire of the American Historical Association to co-operate in its program for the education of trainees but to make clear its view that the detailed prescription of curricula applicable to technological subjects could not advantageously be applied to history and the social sciences if our common object is to train young citizens as soldiers and return to civil life soldiers who are understanding citizens.

Professor Frank M. Anderson moved that the meeting adjourn.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

Abraham Lincoln and the California Patronage

AMONG the thousands of office seekers that flocked to Washington early in 1861 were some sixty or more Californians who came by the Panama steamer route, almost a month's trip, to present their claims to Abraham Lincoln and the new Republican administration.¹ This delegation was not large in comparison with those from the Eastern states, but it was large for California, isolated as it was from the Atlantic seaboard. Washington could be reached at that time only after a long, tedious, and expensive sea voyage. The prospective rewards were well worth the effort, however, for only the more populous states of the East exceeded California in the number of Federal offices at the disposal of the victorious Republicans.

A few facts and figures from the United States *Official Register* for 1861 will give some idea of the richness of the California patronage prize.² The Treasury Department alone had some 150 Federal employees in the state. Its principal activity was the collection of customs at the port of San Francisco. The head of the customhouse employees was the customs collector who received \$7,900 per year. Immediately under him were three deputy collectors, each of whom received a salary of \$3,125, and seventeen other employees whose salaries ranged from \$1,080 to \$2,500. In the appraiser's office of the customhouse were an appraiser general and two appraisers, each receiving \$3,125 per year, and fourteen other employees. The warehouse department had twenty employees, with salaries ranging from \$900 to \$2,500. There were eight weighers, measurers, and gaugers, receiving from \$900 to \$2,250. Twenty-five inspectors received from \$1,368.75 to \$1,642.50. Three employees on the revenue boat received salaries ranging from \$900 to \$1,642.50. Under the customs collector was a surveyor's office with a surveyor, paid \$5,625 per year, a deputy surveyor, paid \$2,700, and a messenger, receiving \$1,170. Also listed under the Treasury Department were the naval office and the United

¹ Estimates of the number of California Republican office seekers in Washington at this time varied from sixty, as reported in the *New York Daily Times*, Mar. 31, 1861, to 150, as in the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, Mar. 30, 1861.

² U. S. Department of State, *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the Service of the United States, on the Thirtieth September, 1861; Showing the State or Territory from Which Each Person Was Appointed to Office, the State or Country in Which He Was Born, and the Compensation, Pay, and Emoluments Allowed to Each; the Names, Force, and Condition of All Ships and Vessels Belonging to the United States, and When and Where Built; together with the Names and Compensation of All Printers in Any Way Employed by Congress, or Any Department or Officer of the Government* (Washington, 1862).

States branch mint. The naval officer received a salary of \$6,250, and under him were six employees receiving from \$1,170 to \$2,700 per year. Both the superintendent and the treasurer of the branch mint received salaries of \$4,500, and nine other employees of the mint were paid from \$2,000 to \$3,000 per annum.³ There were twenty-five lighthouse superintendents and keepers in California, none of whom received a very large salary.

The list so far includes only employees of the Treasury Department. The Post Office Department had some hundreds of postmasters and postal employees in the state receiving salaries up to \$3,000 per year. Under the Interior Department was the surveyor of public lands who received \$4,500, and under him were ten employees who were paid from \$1,500 to \$2,000. The general land office had six registers and six receivers scattered over the state, each of whom received an annual salary of \$3,000. The Indian office had a superintendent of agencies for the northern district of California and one for the southern district, each receiving \$3,600 per year. There were thirty other employees of the Indian office scattered among the various Indian agencies in the state. To complete the picture there must be included the various attachés of the two United States district courts—the United States marshals and deputies, the United States attorneys, and the clerks.

Abraham Lincoln's problem of distributing the state's patronage among party leaders on an equitable basis was made difficult by the fact that the California Republicans had not a single representative in either branch of Congress in March, 1861. In these circumstances the President would have turned ordinarily to the Republican leaders in the state for advice, but the matter was complicated by his personal relations with Senator Edward D. Baker of Oregon, the sole Republican in Congress from the Pacific Coast. Senator Baker assumed that his position gave his recommendations the right of prior consideration in determining the appointments for the entire Pacific Coast area, and he was using his long personal friendship with Lincoln to see that his own friends and relatives were taken care of first. Lincoln and Baker had been close friends from the time the two had begun the practice of law at Springfield, Illinois, in the 1830's. The relationship was so close, indeed, that Lincoln named his second son, Edward Baker Lincoln, after his friend. On March 4, 1861, the new President chose Senator Baker to accompany him in the procession to the Capitol and to introduce him to the audience that gathered to hear the inaugural address.

³ The list of employees of the San Francisco branch mint was left out of the *Official Register* for 1861 by mistake but is given in J. Disturnell, comp., *Blue Book; or, Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the Service of the United States; Corrected to November, 1862* (New York, 1863), p. 44.

Senator Baker's case did not rest entirely on his friendship with Lincoln. There were many fair-minded people who thought that the only Republican in Congress from the Pacific Coast had a right to control at least a good share of the patronage in the area. An Eastern Republican paper pointed out that San Francisco was the commercial center of the whole Pacific Coast and that Oregon had as much right to a voice in the appointments there as did California.⁴ In Baker's favor was the fact that he had been a principal mainstay of the Republican party in California for the four years prior to 1860. He had been one of the first to join the new party when it was organized in the state in 1856 and had been, perhaps, more responsible than any other man for its steady growth during that period. As Republican candidate for Congress in the California election of 1859, he had made a valiant, aggressive fight against great odds, for at that time the state was overwhelmingly Democratic. In February, 1860, at the invitation of a group of Oregon Republicans, he moved to that state to become the Republican candidate for the United States Senate. His campaign efforts aided greatly in electing a majority of Republicans and Douglas Democrats to the Oregon state legislature, and as a result of the combination of these two groups, Baker and James W. Nesmith, a Douglas Democrat, were elected to the United States Senate.⁵

Opposed to Senator Baker in the struggle to control the California patronage were most, but not all, of the Republican leaders of the state. Some Californians who had rendered a real service in the 1860 campaign, and who were entitled to consideration, went along with Baker in the belief that his great prestige on the coast and his relations with Lincoln would give him control of the largest share of the Federal offices. In this group were Thomas S. Fitch, William H. Weeks, Samuel Bell, and two of the leading Republican newspaper editors of the state, Charles A. Washburn and Willard B. Farwell.⁶

Some of the leaders of the opposition to Baker were Ira P. Rankin, Republican candidate for Congress in 1856; Joseph A. Nunes, president of the Republican state conventions of 1856 and 1860; William Rabe, secretary

⁴ Philadelphia *Ledger*, quoted in Sacramento *Daily Union*, Apr. 20, 1861.

⁵ The following have been consulted on Baker's career: Elijah R. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861: How Colonel E. D. Baker Saved the Pacific States to the Union* (Boston, 1912); Milton H. Shutes, "Colonel E. D. Baker," California Historical Society *Quarterly*, XVII (1938), 303-24; William D. Fenton, "Edward Dickinson Baker," Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly*, IX (1908), 1-23; Clyde Augustus Duniway, "Edward Dickinson Baker," *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 517-19.

⁶ Fitch and Weeks were two of the leading Republican orators in the 1860 election, and Bell, an influential Democrat, had transferred his allegiance to the Republican party in that contest. Washburn had been for several years the editor of the San Francisco *Daily Times*, the leading Republican organ in the state before the Civil War. Three of his brothers, the famous Washburn trio, had been for some years Republican members of the House of Representatives. Farwell was editor of the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* for several years prior to December, 1860, when he resigned to become Senator Baker's secretary in Washington.

of the California state central committee; Henry D. Barrows, chairman of the Los Angeles County committee; D. W. Cheeseman, candidate for lieutenant governor in 1857, delegate-at-large to Chicago, and member of the Republican national executive committee. There were numerous others, but this list will give some idea of the political standing of Baker's opponents. Although the names of most of them would today be familiar only to a specialist in the political history of California, they were all men of considerable political influence at that time, and nearly all had been faithful adherents of the Republican party during a period when the "Black Republicans" were a distinctly unpopular element in an overwhelmingly Democratic state.

The leading spokesman for the group opposed to Baker was James W. Simonton, editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin*. Simonton had joined the gold rush to California in 1850, with the intention of establishing a Whig newspaper, but having failed in this he returned East and was for several years prior to 1859 the Washington correspondent of the New York *Times*. In March, 1859, he purchased a controlling interest in the San Francisco *Bulletin* and for the next year and a half was the active editorial head of that paper. As the clouds of Civil War gathered on the horizon, following the election of Lincoln, Simonton returned East to Washington. While retaining his financial interest in the *Bulletin* and his title of editor, and while exercising some editorial supervision from afar, he was in fact the Washington correspondent of the paper. He remained so until 1866 when he became general agent of the Associated Press in New York City.⁷

Between the two groups, acting independently, stood Leland Stanford, one of the men who had taken the lead in organizing the first county unit of the party at Sacramento in the spring of 1856 and without doubt the most influential Republican in the state in 1861. Stanford was in Washington in March, 1861, to attend the inaugural and to offer his advice to Lincoln in making the California appointments. There is no evidence to indicate that he had any particular ax to grind himself. Simonton described Stanford's position in one of his dispatches to the *Bulletin*:

Mr. Stanford acts quite independently, consulting with trustworthy Californians, fighting no man who is not clearly obnoxious upon distinct and decided grounds,

⁷ For Simonton's career see the following: Paul Kaufman, "James William Simonton," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 175-76; Augustus Maverick, *Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press for Thirty Years. Progress of American Journalism from 1840 to 1870. With Portrait, Illustrations, and Appendix* (Hartford, 1870); Oliver Gramling, *AP: The Story of News* (New York, 1940), pp. 64-92; "Death of James W. Simonton" (obituary), *San Francisco Bulletin*, Nov. 3, 1882. Simonton's long dispatches to the *Bulletin* are the principal source of our knowledge of the struggle for the patronage that went on in the California delegation.

but giving his views to President and secretaries when called upon, freely and candidly. He has made an excellent impression upon the President.⁸

The opposition to Senator Baker might not have been so strong had he not surrounded himself with a group of politically and morally questionable characters. He was trying, for instance, to force his son-in-law, who had always been a Democrat, into one of the more lucrative Federal offices in the state. His principal political adviser was Andrew J. Butler, older brother of Ben Butler of Massachusetts and a lifelong Democrat who had been converted to Republicanism only a few months before the election of 1860. Andrew J. Butler had lived for some years in California prior to 1861, where he had acquired a thoroughly unsavory reputation. He had been one of the gang of political henchmen of the Democratic senator, David C. Broderick. In October, 1855, he had been involved in one of the worst scandals in the state's history, the fraudulent sale of the state's valuable water lot property in San Francisco.⁹ When the *Bulletin* learned that Butler was advising Baker on patronage matters, the paper condemned him as a professional gambler who for years "has sat at the gambling table and dealt the cards, or thrown the dice, to rob weak men of their money."¹⁰

As the rival California groups girded for the showdown, and as thousands of other Republican office seekers poured into Washington to fill the city and even the very corridors of the White House, Abraham Lincoln was engaged in one of the most difficult tasks ever to confront a President of the United States. While struggling to maintain the Union in the midst of chaos, he was still forced to heed the clamor of the hungry politicians, great and small, who hovered about him. Toward the end of March he was forced finally into making his decision on the California appointments. On March 29 Senator Baker called at the White House with ten of his own adherents to present them to the President. Simonton learned of the arrangements for the conference, and, as he expressed it in a dispatch to the *Bulletin*, "slipped in" one of his reporters "to take notes." Baker introduced his group as "distinguished and excellent citizens of California," and in making individual introductions, he presented Andrew J. Butler as "one of the most substantial and respectable citizens of California." Baker then withdrew from the room and Thomas S. Fitch, acting as spokesman for the group, stated to the President "that it was the wish of the Californians that Col. Baker should be consulted and his recommendations followed, in reference to California

⁸ San Francisco *Bulletin*, Apr. 11, 1861.

⁹ Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1897), IV, 184-85. Benjamin F. Butler's *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences of Major-General Benj. F. Butler* (Boston, 1892) contains a few references to and a portrait of his brother, Andrew Jackson Butler.

¹⁰ San Francisco *Bulletin*, Feb. 28, 1861.

appointments." Lincoln knew, of course, that the group before him represented only a fraction of the California delegation and ended the conference by stating that "*all* the Californians had better come in to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock."¹¹

News of the conference soon reached the other Californians in the city and spread panic among the Baker opponents, if we may believe the correspondent of the Sacramento *Union*, who was friendly to the Oregon senator.¹² That evening a meeting was called of all those opposed to the Baker group for the purpose of preparing a program of common action at the conference scheduled for the following morning. About thirty Californians were present. Two documents were drawn up to be presented to the President. The first named a committee of four Californians—Judge Gordon H. Mott, Leland Stanford, Charles Watrous, and James W. Simonton—with whom it was asked the President consult in case he required any information on the California applicants in addition to that in the papers already on file. Joseph A. Nunes, who presided over the meeting, was delegated to present this document to the President. The second paper was a protest against the interference of Senator Baker in California patronage matters. It read as follows:

To His Excellency the President of the United States:—The undersigned Republicans of the State of California, respectfully and earnestly protest against the interference of the Hon. E. D. Baker, Senator from Oregon, with the Federal appointments in the State of California. *First*—Because some of the appointments which Col. Baker desires would be very unacceptable to the party in our State, and would be most injudicious and most prejudicial to the public interests. *Secondly*—Because California is able and willing to represent herself; and to attach her as an appendage to Oregon, would be to demoralize our party, and to expose us to the certainty of defeat in the next and subsequent elections.¹³

James W. Simonton was selected to present this second paper and was empowered to accompany his presentation with some brief verbal remarks. When the paper was handed finally to Lincoln it contained thirty-five signatures.

On the morning of March 30th the California delegation gathered at the White House to present themselves for the interview. On being ushered into the President's office they found, to their great surprise, Senator Baker and Andrew J. Butler seated with Lincoln. Simonton claimed that Baker spies had attended the meeting of the night before, had warned him of the impending protest, and that Baker had thereupon gone to the White House early on the morning of March 30th, had been invited to breakfast, and had

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 17, 1861.

¹² Sacramento *Union*, Apr. 20, 1861.

¹³ San Francisco *Bulletin*, Apr. 17, 1861.

stayed for the interview. Baker and Butler were there, Simonton claimed, "to intimidate their opponents."¹⁴

Joseph A. Nunes, as head of the delegation, stated the object of the meeting and handed the first paper to the President. He then introduced Simonton. Apparently undaunted by the presence of Baker and Butler, Simonton launched at once into his prepared address, the "brief verbal remarks" that were to accompany the presentation of the official protest drawn up the night before. His caustic denunciation of Baker far exceeded in harshness the tone of the written protest. Simonton spared neither Baker nor Butler, nor the feelings of the President as a lifelong friend of Baker, in making his charges and even undertook to lecture the President on his duties. He asked the President's pardon for his "plain language" but claimed that the occasion demanded it. With some preliminary remarks he began his attack on Baker and Butler with both of those gentlemen looking on:

We protest against Mr. Baker being presented as the arbiter of California appointments, because he is not of us. We warn you against being misled, as you surely will be if you follow some of his recommendations. We know, and say it publicly, that he recommends some parties for Federal office in California who are dishonest, whether he knows it or not, whose appointment would fix inevitable disgrace upon the Administration, and plant the seeds of certain death in the Republican party of California.

In order to impress upon your mind the fact that our protest is well-founded, and to show why we, as Californians, having the honor of our State at heart, do not desire that Mr. Baker should speak for us, I am compelled to show that he has already sought to betray us, has abused our confidence, and so abused yours.

He has presented to you, as a candidate for Superintendent of the Mint, his son-in-law, who was *never* known except as an earnest, active, working Democrat, and whose own party considered him worthy only of a subordinate position in that establishment. He *must* know that his appointment would discourage and demoralize the Republican party in California, and that the only possible ground upon which it can be placed is the selfish desire to aggrandize a member of his family at the expense of the cause.

Again, he presented to your Excellency, yesterday, as one of the most substantial and highly respected citizens of California, A. J. Butler—a man notorious in our State in former years as a professional gambler, who never was a Republican until just before the late election—who has not the confidence either of the people at large or of the Republican party; a man who is recognized by all honest men as a political broker, whose touch is contamination to any public man. It was the grossest outrage to impose him upon you as a representative of California.

At this point Simonton read from an editorial in the San Francisco *Bulletin* of February 28, 1861, castigating Butler in even more severe words than he had used himself. He concluded his remarks with a final admonition: Give to California good Republicans, honest men and true, to fill the Federal

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 17, 1861.

offices, and California will be true to the principles on which your Administration is based. But, on the other hand, if Messrs. Baker and Butler can deceive and delude you into adopting *some* of the recommendations which they make, we assure you most solemnly, that the *people* will desert us, and that the Republican party will be demoralized, disgraced and destroyed.¹⁵

Simonton then handed to the President the official protest signed by thirty-five Californians. The scene that followed has been described in a number of varying accounts, each version conditioned by the writer's sympathy for Simonton or Baker, or by the belief that the President's dignity had been trampled upon. Simonton's own account is as follows:

The President took the protest which I handed him, and said it should receive the consideration to which it was entitled as the emanation of the forty [*sic*] Californians who had signed it. He then asked for the memorandum of the remarks which your correspondent had made, as he said, that he might burn them. Of course, this was received with applause by the Baker-Butler side of the House. The President added the remark, that he was ready to receive our recommendations of men to be appointed; that he would be happy to meet the Committee of Californians named by the meeting at 3 o'clock this afternoon, but that he *knew* Col. Baker, and would not be a party to abuse of him.¹⁶

Other accounts of the affair, most of them unfriendly to Simonton, varied from his in some details. The Cincinnati *Commercial* described the scene as follows:

The President listened to it quietly, but after its delivery, walked up towards Messrs. Nunes and Simonton, took hold of their respective documents, and remarked in substance: "The protest deserves to be considered, but as to your speech," turning to Simonton, "it is disrespectful to myself and Mr. Baker, and I can make no other disposition of it than this," thrusting it, with the last word, into the fire. . . .

An intense consternation prevailed for some time after this most unlooked for proceeding. Simonton looked as though he had been struck with a thunderbolt, but finally recovered so far as to say, "I have simply done my duty: I have nothing to expect from the Executive, and in doing what I did, I merely meant to protect the interests of my State."

After considerable parleying and explaining, the material irritation subsided, and a compromise was effected, according to which the President is to confer with a committee made up of members of both factions as to the appointments. . . .

The affair created much excitement in political circles. The prompt and decisive action of the President is praised by many as a symptom of Jacksonism.¹⁷

The New York *Times* account of the interview was altogether favorable to Simonton. The malicious description of the scene in the New York *Herald* can be accounted for by the fact that Simonton was a good friend of Henry J. Raymond, editor of the New York *Times*, and had been a *Times* man him-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Apr. 17, 1861.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Apr. 17, 1861.

¹⁷ Cincinnati *Daily Commercial*, Apr. 1, 1861.

self in the past. It is a good example of the *Herald's* exaggeration and distortion of its news reports when a rival paper was involved:

The scene with the California delegation at the White House on Saturday brought out some of the "latent Jacksonism" which Old Abe's friends rejoice to claim for him. He "put his foot down" on that occasion to some purpose, completely snubbing a fussy little fellow named Simonton, whose connection with certain Investigating Committees in Washington some time ago, when he was correspondent for one of Seward's organs in this city, will be remembered. . . . Old Abe, with the firmness of a Washington and Jackson combined, crushed the manuscript in the hollow of his hand, and cast its bruised remains into the flames, using, at the same time, some very indignant language to the awe-struck Simonton. The protesting Californians were then politely invited to leave.¹⁸

Many of the leading California papers published reports of the interview severely critical of the conduct of the *Bulletin* editor. The Washington correspondent of the Sacramento *Union* reported that Lincoln "manifested the strongest possible repugnance" to Simonton's protest.¹⁹ The San Francisco *Herald*, a Democratic paper, stated:

His [Simonton's] patriotic efforts were not appreciated by the President, and his venomous tirade was consigned to the flames as a sort of warm hint that the writer was tending toward such an end himself . . . it is scarcely possible to conceive a more glaringly disgraceful scene than must have been the interview between the President and Mr. James W. Simonton.²⁰

While the various accounts differ as to the degree of Lincoln's anger, it is certain that he resented the attack in his presence on his friend Baker, and he showed his resentment by throwing in the fire the text of Simonton's remarks. On the following day, however, his resentment had apparently vanished, for he apologized to Simonton for what he described as his hasty action.²¹

In commenting on the results of the White House conference, the St. Louis *Democrat* stated that Senator Baker "won a complete victory."²² This was not true, however, for Lincoln's acumen in patronage matters, acquired through long years of active participation in party politics, would not have permitted such a solution of the problem. Apart from personal friendship, Senator Baker and his friends had to be taken care of, for Baker held the only vote in Congress from the Pacific Coast on which the President could depend. In fact, Senator Baker had already shown himself to be one of the

¹⁸ New York *Daily Herald*, Apr. 1, 1861.

¹⁹ Sacramento *Union*, Apr. 20, 1861.

²⁰ San Francisco *Daily Herald*, Apr. 19, 1861.

²¹ Simonton's statement that Lincoln apologized to him on the following day is contained in a letter to the San Francisco *Bulletin*, July 31, 1865, a few months after Lincoln's death, in reply to charges that Lincoln had ordered him out of the White House and told him never to return.

²² St. Louis *Daily Missouri Democrat*, Apr. 4, 1861.

most consistent supporters of the President's policy. He had taken his seat in the Senate at the beginning of the new session in December, 1860, and had striven hard to further the President's policy of preserving the Union, yet not surrendering the essential principles to which Lincoln had given his adherence during the campaign. Faced with the greatest crisis in the history of the United States and uncertain of the support he would receive from Congress, Lincoln would have shown political ineptitude of the rankest sort had he antagonized his most dependable friend in the Senate at the very beginning of his administration.

On the other hand, the President clearly indicated his recognition of the just claims of Baker's opponents to control a good share of the California patronage. The Republican leaders in the state had borne the brunt of battle in the last election, and on them would fall the burden of keeping intact the party machinery and increasing the party representation in Congress in subsequent elections.

Lincoln tried to do justice to both groups but gave neither all that it demanded. The richest prize went to the anti-Baker forces, for Ira P. Rankin was appointed collector of customs at the port of San Francisco.²³ Rankin's salary of \$7,900 exceeded that of any other Federal officer in the state. More important than this, however, was the fact that Rankin and his group had the right to appoint nearly all the subordinate officers and employees of the customhouse. This represented the largest block of Federal offices in the state. Others of this group were appointed to good places. Dr. William Rabe was made United States marshal for the northern district of California, and Henry Barrows of Los Angeles was appointed to the same post for the southern district. Charles Watrous was appointed special agent of the Post Office Department in California. John T. McLean was appointed to the post of surveyor in the customhouse at an annual salary of \$5,625, and Lewis C. Gunn was made deputy surveyor, receiving \$2,700 per year. David W. Cheeseman was named treasurer of the United States branch mint at a salary of \$4,500.²⁴ These were only a few of the anti-Baker group who were appointed to good places. Simonton, himself, was well taken care of, for his brother was permitted to retain his place as inspector of customs, which he had held for several years under the previous Democratic administration.²⁵

²³ The names and salaries of the various appointees given here are taken from the *Official Register* for 1861, with the exception of the U. S. branch mint employees, who were listed in the *Blue Book* for 1862. Ira P. Rankin's name was mistakenly given in the *Official Register* as John P. Rankin.

²⁴ All of those named above were signers of the protest against Baker's interference in California patronage matters. A list of the signers is given in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, Apr. 17, 1861.

²⁵ He was listed as inspector of customs in the *Official Register*, 1859, p. 77, during the

The Baker group was well rewarded also. Senator Baker was able to secure the appointment of his son-in-law, Robert J. Stevens, to the office of superintendent of the United States branch mint in spite of the fact that Stevens' past adherence to the Democratic party had been a focal point of attack from the opposition group. Willard B. Farwell, secretary to Senator Baker and former editor of the San Francisco *Alta California*, was appointed naval officer at San Francisco. He received an annual salary of \$6,250 and had the right to appoint six subordinate employees. Charles A. Washburn, another California Republican editor and partisan of Baker, was given the lucrative post of commissioner to the Republic of Paraguay. He received a salary of \$7,500 per year. Thomas J. Dryer, whom Baker's opponents had condemned as a common drunkard, was appointed commissioner to the Hawaiian Islands at the same salary as Washburn's. S. H. Parker, a Baker adherent, was made postmaster at San Francisco.²⁶ Andrew J. Butler was probably the only leading member of the Baker group not given a Federal appointment. Shortly after the settlement of the California patronage controversy he joined his brother, then commanding a small army in Virginia, and became a camp follower of the latter's army in Virginia and at New Orleans.

After making his original appointments to Federal office in California Lincoln had relatively little trouble from that state for the balance of his administration. Shortly after the war began, Senator Baker accepted a commission as colonel of volunteers and was killed in action at Ball's Bluff in October, 1861. Baker's death was one of the most severe personal blows suffered by Lincoln during the war, but it removed a source of dissension in Republican ranks on the Pacific Coast. In the California state election of September, 1861, the Republicans won a sweeping victory. Leland Stanford was elected governor and three Republicans, Aaron A. Sargent, Timothy G. Phelps, and Frederick F. Low, were elected to the House of Representatives.²⁷ This gave the President the advantage of having Republicans in Congress from California whose advice on appointments would be recognized by all as having the right of prior consideration.

Buchanan administration, and was retained by the Republicans as shown in the *Official Register*, 1861, p. 71. The *Sacramento Union*, Apr. 26, 1861, stated that another brother of Simonton's, C. D. R. Simonton, was appointed commercial agent at Panama at an annual salary of \$2,500 "with hardly any duties to perform." He is not listed in the *Official Register* for 1861, however, nor in those of succeeding years.

²⁶ Many of the jobs in the state went to men who were supported by both of the rival groups, or, at least, were opposed by neither group. All seemed agreed, for instance, on Antonio M. Pico, a California citizen of Spanish descent, for the post of register of the general land office at Los Angeles. There is no record of opposition from either group to the appointment of Colonel Edward F. Beale as surveyor of public lands in the district of California.

²⁷ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1890), VII, 291-92.

In 1863 Secretary Chase, acting in a characteristically highhanded manner, announced certain changes in the customhouse and mint in San Francisco, without having consulted the California congressmen in advance. Chase had sent a special agent of the Treasury Department to California to investigate the Federal service in the state, and it was on the basis of the agent's reports that the changes were to be made. Lincoln realized at once that Chase's discourteous treatment of the California representatives might create an open breach in party ranks in the state and lose the administration the support of three loyal congressmen. He recalled to Washington two of the group who had gone to New York to take a ship for California, nursing their resentment of the treatment they had received. The affair was settled by the appointment of one of the California congressmen, Frederick F. Low, to the post of collector of the customs at San Francisco, the most important Federal office in the state.²⁸

It must be recognized that Lincoln handled the California patronage problem in a statesmanlike manner. In 1857 James Buchanan was faced with the almost identical problem when the Gwin and Broderick factions were fighting for control of the Federal offices in the state. Buchanan heeded only the advice of Gwin and the Southern element in the party, and as a result the Democratic party in California was split into two warring groups, paving the way for the Republican victories in California in November, 1860, and September, 1861. Lincoln's action, while satisfying neither faction completely, prevented an open breach in party ranks, and resulted finally in securing the wholehearted support of all California Republicans to the prosecution of the war and the preservation of the Union.

Berkeley, California

JOHN DENTON CARTER

²⁸ A brief account of Secretary Chase's interference in California patronage matters is given in Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (New York, 1939), II, 624-25. More details of the episode may be found in the dispatches of Noah Brooks ("Castine") to the *Sacramento Union* and James W. Simonton ("J. W. S.") to the *San Francisco Bulletin* in the spring of 1863.

The Influence of Western Political Thought in Bulgaria, 1850-1885¹

IN the period between 1850 and 1885 the leaders of the Bulgarian people were faced with two main problems. Before the liberation of their country in 1878 they were occupied with the struggle against the misrule of the Ottoman government. Between 1878 and 1885, hindered by the constant interference of the great powers, they worked to set up a form of government suitable to the traditions and ambitions of the country. During the revolutionary and constitutional struggles the political leaders of Bulgaria turned frequently to the great tradition of Western political thought for inspiration and guidance. From the bureaucratic models of Germany and Austria-Hungary, as well as from the more liberal tradition of Belgium, France, England, and Italy, they borrowed the political principles and institutions which were destined to characterize the Bulgarian scene both before and after the liberation.

Although the Bulgarian provinces of the Ottoman Empire had never been completely shut off from Western Europe, it was not until the 1840's that Western political ideas began to make an impression, and only after the Crimean War did they exert a determining influence on Bulgarian political thought. Before the mid-nineteenth century there were a number of channels through which political ideas were diffused. The mountain towns of central Bulgaria had developed a number of industries, such as rose oil, textiles, and sheep raising, which brought commercial contacts with the Danubian basin and beyond. Commerce with Southern and Western Europe had developed rapidly after the turn of the century, and a number of the earlier Bulgarian leaders were educated in European universities.²

¹ This article is an expansion of a paper read before the American Historical Association at Chicago in December, 1941.

² K. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien* (Vienna, 1891), pp. 289-90; D. Blagoev, *Prinos kŭm istoriyata na sotsializma v Bŭlgariya* [contribution to the history of socialism in Bulgaria] (Sofia, 1906), pp. 14-38; Georg Petkoff, *Die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse in Bulgarien vor der Befreiung* (Erlangen, 1906), *passim*; Nik. Atanasov, *Sotsialniyat faktor v kulturno-literaturniya ni zhivot преди osvobozhdenieto (kulturno-sotsiologichen etyud)* [the social factor in our cultural and literary life before the liberation (a cultural and sociological study)] (Sofia, 1910), *passim*; N. Milev, "Faktoritê na bŭlgarskoto vŭzrazhdane" [factors in the Bulgarian renaissance], *Sbornik v chest na profesor Iv. D. Shishmanov* (Sofia, 1920), pp. 129-57; Alois Hajek, *Bulgarien unter der Türkenherrschaft* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1925), pp. 116-220; Boyan Penev, *Istoriya na novata bŭlgarska literatura* [the history of modern Bulgarian literature] (4 vols., Sofia, 1930-36), III, 77-87; N. Stanev, "Bŭlgarskata obshtestvenost do osvobozhdenieto i Tŭrnovskata Konstitutsiya" [the social structure of Bulgaria before the liberation and the constitution of Tŭrnovo], *Bŭlgarska istoricheska biblioteka*, IV (1931), 155-70; S. S. Bobtchev, *La société bulgare sous la domination ottomane. Les tchorbadjis bulgares comme*

Traveling through the country in the early 1870's, Kanitz, the German geographer, noted that in each town there were a number of businessmen and manufacturers who were well acquainted with Vienna, Leipzig, or Paris, and who spoke French or German fluently.³ In addition, some forty-five Bulgarians were educated at Robert College, Constantinople, before the liberation. There they learned the English language and gained some knowledge of Western systems of government and parliamentary practices.⁴ Mention should also be made of the Polish émigrés who came to Bulgaria after their revolution in 1830⁵ and of the work of the American missionaries.⁶

The ideas of the French Revolution reached Bulgaria through a number of more direct channels. The French schools in Constantinople had many Bulgarian families among their patrons. French liberalism also permeated the Greek schools in Athens and Smyrna, Chios and Andros, and the Serbian schools in Belgrade and Novi Sad, all of which were frequented by Slavs from European Turkey. The nationalist leaders of the Greeks, the Serbs, and the western Slavs were all eager to find new allies in their fight for freedom. The literary nationalism of Korais, of Obradović and Karadžić, of Dobrovský and Šafařík, made many converts among Bulgarians in search of a new faith.⁷ But all of these influences were secondary when compared with the activity of the Russian Slavophiles.

After 1840 regular scholarships were provided for Bulgarian students at the Odessa Seminary, and with the founding of the Slavic Welfare Committee in Moscow in 1858 cultural contacts with Russia increased rapidly. By

institution sociale et administrative (Sofia, 1935), *passim*; S. S. Bobchev, "Dŭrzhavno-pravniya i obshtestven stroi v Bŭlgariya prez vreme na osmanskoto vladichestvo" [the political, legal, and social structure of Bulgaria during the period of Ottoman rule], *Nauchen pregled*, VIII (1936), 25-37; Iv. Minkov, "Istoricheskitē koreni na nashitē demokraticheski traditsii" [the historic roots of our democratic traditions], *Filosofski pregled*, IX (1937), 71-82; Ivan Sakāzov, *Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, "Grundriss der slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte, Band V" (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), pp. 217-64; Zhak Natan, *Ikonomicheska istoriya na Bŭlgariya* [economic history of Bulgaria] (2 vols., Sofia, 1938), I, 155-73; Iv. G. Klincharov, *Istoriya na rabotnicheskoto dvizhenie v Bŭlgariya* [history of the labor movement in Bulgaria] (2 vols., Sofia, 1926-28), I, 6-11.

³ F. Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan. Historisch-geographisch-ethnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1860-1879* (2d ed., 3 vols., Leipzig, 1882), I, 241; II, 134; III, 22.

⁴ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College* (Boston and New York, 1909), *passim*; *Catalogue of the Officers, Graduates, and Students of Robert College, Constantinople, 1878-79* (Constantinople, 1879), *passim*.

⁵ Marcel Handelsman, "La guerre de Crimée, la question polonaise et les origines du problème bulgare," *Revue historique*, CLXIX (1932), 271-315.

⁶ William Webster Hall, jr., *Puritans in the Balkans*, "Studia historico-philologica serdicensia, Supplementi vol. I" (Sofia, 1938), pp. 1-47.

⁷ Penev, III, 83-209; L. Iv. Dorosiev, "Frantsuski ucheni, pisateli, publitsisti i polititsi za bŭlgarskiya narod" [accounts of the Bulgarian people by French scholars, writers, publicists, and politicians], *Sbornik v chest i v pamet na Lui Leshe 1843-1923* (Sofia, 1925), pp. 109-138; Dimo Minev, "Vliyanie na frenskata kultura vŭrhu bŭlgarskata obshtestvenost i literatura" [the influence of French culture on Bulgarian public life and literature], *Godishnik na vissheto ŭrgovsko uchilishte Varna*, VIII (1934-35), 1-31; Nikola Stanev, "Otrazheniya na frenskata revolyutsiya u nas" [the influence of the French Revolution on us], *Rodina*, I, iv (June, 1939), 90.

means of scholarships and the distribution of books a large number of Bulgarian students became acquainted with the ideas current in Russian intellectual circles, and, returning to their native country, they disseminated these ideas in the elementary schools.⁸ Moreover, it was characteristic that while they accepted the scholarships with gratitude, the ideas which they carried away from Odessa, Moscow, and St. Petersburg were not the principles of orthodoxy and autocracy professed by their Slavophile patrons. On the contrary, the books which they read, either in the original or in translation, were those of the French philosophes, the English constitutional historians, the German philosophers, and the Utopian, and later the Marxian, socialists. Frequently misunderstood, and only partly digested, these classics of the Western political tradition were taken by the Bulgarian intellectuals and applied to their own special problem of the winning of political and legal rights for their compatriots in the Ottoman Empire.⁹

In the earliest stage the results of these many influences may be seen in the Bulgarian émigré press which appeared in Turkey, Austria, the Danubian Principalities, and Russia in the early 1840's, dealing primarily with the problems of national history, Slavic philology, and education. One of the first signs of political influence is found in a small émigré sheet published in Vienna in 1850-51, suggesting that the aim of the Bulgarians should be to obtain a position in the Ottoman Empire similar to that of the minorities in the Habsburg monarchy. It may also be assumed that the publication by a Bulgarian paper in Constantinople of Napoleon III's constitution of 1852 was meant as a reminder to the Turks of their duty to their Christian subjects. But, aside from occasional suggestions of this sort that a solution to Bulgaria's problems might be found in the application of schemes already in operation in Western Europe, Bulgarian thought before 1856 was largely restricted to current issues.¹⁰

⁸ Iv. D. Shishmanov, "Nachenki ot rusko vliyanie v búlgarskata knizhnina" [the beginnings of Russian influence in Bulgarian literature], *Búlgarski pregled*, V (1899), 113-77; K. A. Pushkarevich, "Balkanskíe slavyane i russkíe 'osvoboditeli'" (Slavyanskíe komitety i sobytiya na Balkanah pered rusko-turetskoí voínoí 1877-1878 gg.) [the Balkan Slavs and the Russian "liberators" (the Slavic committees and the events in the Balkans on the eve of the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878)], *Trudy instituta slavyanovedeniya akademii nauk S.S.S.R.*, II (1934), 189-229.

⁹ K. Krsteff-Mirojuboff, "Die neue bulgarische Literatur," *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik*, III (1909), 109-23, 137-54; A. Fischel, *Der Panславизм bis zum Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart, 1919), pp. 407-17; G. Bakalov, "Russkaya revolyutsionnaya emigratsiya sredi bolgar. I. Do osvobodheniya Bolgarii" [Russian revolutionary émigrés among the Bulgarians. I. Before the liberation of Bulgaria], *Katorga i ssylka*, LXIII (1930), 114-37; *id.*, "Chernyshevskii na Balkanah" [Chernyshevski in the Balkans], *ibid.*, CXIII (1934), 27-31; Georges Hateau, *Panorama de la littérature bulgare contemporaine* (Paris, 1937), pp. 52-54; B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 61-80.

¹⁰ B. M. Andreev, *Búlgarskiyat pechat prez vúzrazhdaneto (Zachenki i razvoí)* [the Bulgarian press during the renaissance (beginnings and development)] (Sofia, 1932), pp. 22-50, 157-68.

After the Crimean War the Bulgarian fight for political and ecclesiastical independence reached its final and most active stage. While the leaders within the Turkish empire were busy reforming church and education, it was left for the émigrés to elaborate a program of revolution and, incidentally, to discuss plans for a future independent Bulgarian state. The idea that the Bulgarians formed a distinct nationality, and the claim that they had the right to exist independently of the Greek church and the Turkish state, had been successfully preached for almost a century by the pioneers of Bulgarian nationalism. This new point of view had already achieved considerable success in the fields of ecclesiastical and educational reform, but in the political sphere it was not until after the Crimean War, with all its hopes and disillusion, that a program of action was developed.¹¹ It was in this revolutionary program, more than in any of the other fields of activity before the liberation, that the influence of Western political thought may be seen.

Rakovski was the founder of the Bulgarian revolutionary tradition. The talented son of a wealthy commercial family, Rakovski's thought was stamped with his distrust of the European powers, the Turkish reform movement, and the conduct of the church struggle. His one message was that of revolution—the classic uprising of the Christian peoples which would bring Russia to their aid with the Western powers looking on with benevolent sympathy. The arguments which he used in his appeals to his fellow countrymen were those of Western liberalism. He pointed to Italy, France, and England as the home of popular rights and political freedom. He saw the Habsburg monarchy gradually compelled to grant political rights to its minorities, and he predicted that unless the Turks followed this example they could not prevent the collapse of their empire. Thus, in his emphasis on political liberties as well as in his open admiration of the constitutional monarchies of Western Europe, Rakovski stood firmly on the traditions of European nationalism and liberalism as the solution for his country's problems.¹²

¹¹ Petăr Nikov, *Vŭzrazhdane na bŭlgarskiya narod. Tsŭrkŭvno-natsionalni borbi i postizheniya* [the renaissance of the Bulgarian people. The achievements of the struggle for a national church] (Sofia, 1929), pp. 10-18, 328-30; Blagoev, pp. 19-23; Hajek, *Bulgarien*, pp. 140-50, 186-220; G. P. Genov, "Hati Sherifa i Hati Humayuna i tŭhnoto znachenie za bŭlgarskiya narod" [the Hatti Sherif, the Hatti Humayun, and their meaning for the Bulgarian people], *Bŭlgarska istoricheska biblioteka*, IV (1931), 84-95; Ivan Stoyanov, *Borbi za politicheska nezavisimost* [struggles for political independence] (Sofia, 1931), pp. 44-53.

¹² M. Arnaudov, G. S. *Rakovski* (Sofia, 1922), pp. 92-95, 173-84; *id.*, "G. S. Rakovski," *Bŭlgarski pisateli*, M. Arnaudov, ed. (6 vols., Sofia, 1929-30), II, 3-30; *id.*, "Politicheskitŭ idei na Rakovski" [the political ideas of Rakovski], *Rodina*, I, ii (1938), 5-23; B. Mintsos, "Dŭrzhavnopolitichnite i sotsialnostopanskite idei v bŭlgarskata doosvoboditelna literatura. Kritikobibliografska studiya" [political, social, and economic ideas in Bulgarian pre-liberation literature. A critical and bibliographical study], *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i knizhnina*, XVI-XVII (1900), 8; Bakalov, *Katorga i ssylka*, LXIII, 115; G. Konstantinov, *Rakovski i bŭlgarskata revolyutsionna ideologiya* [Rakovski and the Bulgarian revolutionary ideology] (Sofia, 1939), *passim*.

On his death in 1867 Rakovski was succeeded by Lyuben Karavelov, who had just returned from nine years of study in Moscow. There he had come under the influence of Herten, Chernyshevski, Dobrolyubov, and Pisarev, and in his plans for the Bulgarian people he placed great emphasis on political freedom and education. He accepted Rakovski's idea of revolution and went beyond it, as he was primarily interested in the solution of social and political problems. "The modern age," he said, "is only interested in knowing what de Tocqueville, Buckle, Draper and Strauss, Vogt, Darwin, Huxley and Humboldt have to say—it is interested in the political sciences and not in the inanities of Tasso and Fénelon."¹³ Karavelov worked out a plan for a Balkan federation on a liberal basis, with Switzerland and the United States as his models, and it is interesting that while he got great inspiration from the teachings of the nihilists and the anarchists, his concrete proposals bore a much stronger resemblance to the democracies of the West.¹⁴

The third in the trio of revolutionary leaders, Botŭov, also received his political education at the hands of the Russian radicals, and, if anything, he was somewhat more of a revolutionary in a social sense than his predecessor. But even with Botŭov, loyalty to Western radicalism was subordinate to patriotism. He was able to agree with Proudhon and Bakunin that government was a conspiracy against the freedom of man, only because to him the Turks were the government and the Bulgarians were the governed. While Botŭov was essentially a Utopian in his political ideals, his enthusiasm was deeply aroused by the Paris Commune, and he spent some time organizing communes among the Bulgarian colonies in Rumania before his energies were distracted by the more immediate problem of fighting the Turk.¹⁵

Until the very eve of the Russian-Turkish War the influence of liberal and radical political ideas was in evidence. S. N. Stambolov, the future dictator, published Botŭov's *Nova Bŭlgariya* [new Bulgaria] in Giurgiu after the revolutionary's death, and, as a former member of Kovalski's nihilist circle in Odessa, he was preparing to educate his fellow countrymen by translating Chernyshevski's *Chto delat?* [what is to be done?] when the war interrupted his plans. Edited in a similar revolutionary spirit were K.

¹³ Shishmanov, *Bŭlgarski pregled*, V, 169.

¹⁴ Konstantinov, "Lyuben Karavelov," *Bŭlgarski pisateli*, III, 3-45; Dimitŭr T. Strashimirov, *Istoriya na aprilskoto vŭzstanie* [history of the April revolt] (3 vols., Plovdiv, 1907), I, 21-24; Mints, *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya*, XVI-XVII, 8-18; Krsteff-Mirolyuboff, *Internationale Wochenschrift*, III, 109-13; Blagoev, pp. 39-41; Andreev, pp. 106-23; Hajek, *Bulgarien*, pp. 231-33; V. Bogucharskiŭ, *Aktivnoe narodnichestvo semidesyatyh godov* [active populism in the 1870's] (Moscow, 1912), pp. 275-77, 292-93; E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (London, 1937), p. 448.

¹⁵ Lyudmil Stoyanov, "Hristo Botŭov," *Bŭlgarski pisateli*, III, 65-114; Blagoev, pp. 41-50; Andreev, pp. 127-30; Bogucharskiŭ, pp. 292-93; Klincharov, pp. I, 11-16; Bakalov, *Katorga y ssylka*, LXIII, 120-22.

Tuleshkov's *Bălgarski glas* [voice of Bulgaria] and S. Milarov's *Vŭzrazhdane* [renaissance]. A more thoughtful newspaper was the *Stara planina*, published in Bucharest under the editorship of S. S. Bobchev, with the collaboration of G. D. Nachevich and I. Vazov. Bobchev agreed with the more radical leaders that it was useless to place any reliance on reforms under the Ottoman system. He hoped that when the Christians were freed from Turkish rule by the intervention of the powers, an independent state comprising Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia would be set up and governed under an organic statute. He conceded equal rights for minorities and freedom of conscience for all. Compulsory education and military service would serve to consolidate the national spirit of the new state.¹⁶

In brief summary, then, it may be said that before the liberation not only the acknowledged leaders of Bulgarian political thought but also a large number of the more enlightened citizens were acquainted with Western political ideas either directly or through the intermediary of the Russian universities. In addition, both in their immediate struggle against Turkish misrule and in their broader plans for the future the Bulgarian leaders derived their ideas to a great extent from the tradition of Western political thought and practice.

The changes resulting from the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-78 and the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin brought the Bulgarian leaders face to face with new problems of a type which had occupied Western political thinkers for many years. Whereas Rakovski, Karavelov, and Boŭov had concerned themselves almost exclusively with political revolution, the task of the new generation of leaders was to set up and operate a functioning state to take the place of that recently abdicated by the Ottoman administrative system. As was only natural, it was from Western political models and ideas that the new leaders borrowed most heavily.

Under the direction of the Russian officers of occupation a draft Organic Statute was drawn up in 1878 on the model of the Serbian constitution of 1869. The latter was based largely on the Prussian constitution of 1850 and was regarded by the Russians as the most suitable legal framework for the new Balkan state. This draft Organic Statute was then submitted to a Bulgarian assembly of notables, partly elected and partly appointed.¹⁷ After

¹⁶ Bakalov, *Katorga y ssylka*, LXIII, 126-27; Andreev, pp. 136-42.

¹⁷ The most important study of the immediate background of the constitution is E. D. Grimm, "Istoriya i ideiniya osnovy proekta Organicheskago Ustava, vneshennago v Tirnovskoe Uchreditelnoe Sobranie 1879 g." [the history and ideological basis of the draft Organic Statute, presented to the constitutional assembly of Tirnovo in 1879], *Godishnik na Sofiiskiya universitet. III. Yuridicheski fakultet*, XVII (1920-21), 3-219; this may be supplemented by D. G. Anuchin, "Knyaz V. A. Cherkaskii i grazhdanskoe upravlenie v Bolgarii, 1877-1878 gg." [Prince V. A. Cherkaski and the civil government in Bulgaria, 1877-1878], *Russkaya starina*, LXXXIII (1895),

discussing the statute freely and at some length, the assembly made extensive amendments before accepting it as the Bulgarian constitution of 1879.¹⁸ This new document, providing for a dominant unicameral legislature elected by universal manhood suffrage, reflected to a large degree the political radicalism which had characterized the revolutionary leaders.¹⁹ At the same time the debates in the assembly of notables and the constitutional struggle which developed during the ensuing years revealed a comprehension of political problems and a reliance on Western ideas which was rare before the liberation.

This increase in the influence of Western political thought may be readily attributed to the sudden influx of new leaders which accompanied the liberation. Centering around the constitution of 1879, the conflicting views of this new generation of statesmen reflected clearly the diverse schools of political thought whose struggle for dominance had occupied the center of the European stage since the French Revolution. The new Hessian prince, Alexander of Battenberg, elected on the recommendation of the Russians, was firmly opposed to the liberal nature of the constitution. He was supported in his

ii, 1-34; iii, 1-27; iv, 43-55; v, 1-36; LXXXIV (1895), viii, 41-59; ix, 53-103; x, 1-32; xi, 47-67; xii, 1-50; LXXXV (1896), 55-78, 285-313, 449-70; LXXXVI (1896), 225-66; LXXXVII (1896), 45-81, 231-54; Todor Ikonov, *Sŭchineniyata* [works] (4 vols., Shumen, 1897), IV, 97-103; Marko D. Balabanov, "Prŕedi pŕvoto uchreditelno sŭbranie v Tŕnovo i prŕedi izbiraneto na pŕviya bŭlgarski knyaz" [before the first constitutional assembly in Tŕnovo and before the election of the first Bulgarian prince], *Periodichesko spisanie*, XIX, no. 68 (1907), 647-66; M. S. Drinov, "Izrabotvaneto na bŭlgarskata konstitutsiya (Neshto ot moite spomeni ot tova delo i za moeto uchastie v nego)" [the elaboration of the Bulgarian constitution (my recollection of this task and my participation in it)], *Sŭchineniya* [works], V. N. Zlatarski, ed. (3 vols., Sofia, 1909-15), III, 164-85; L. Vladikin, *Istoriya na Tŕnovskata konstitutsiya* [a history of the Tŕnovo constitution] (Sofia, 1936), pp. 53-93; St. G. Balamezov, *Sravnitelno i bŭlgarsko konstitutsionno pravo* [comparative and Bulgarian constitutional law] (2d ed., 2 vols., Sofia, 1938), I, 3-67; Hajek, *Bulgariens Befreiung und staatliche Entwicklung unter seinem ersten Fŕrsten* (Munich and Berlin, 1939), pp. 135-36.

¹⁸ The debates of the constitutional assembly may best be followed in *Protokolitŕ na Uchreditelnoto Bŭlgarsko Narodno Sŭbranie v Tŕnovo* [the protocols of the Bulgarian national constitutional assembly in Tŕnovo] (Plovdiv, Sofia, and Ruschuk, 1879), *passim*; see also Ikonov, IV, 103-13; D. Marinov, *Stefan Stambolov i novŕŕshata ni istoriya (Lŕtopisni spomeni i ocherki)* [Stefan Stambolov and our recent history (chronological recollections and sketches)] (Sofia, 1909), pp. 39-71; Simeon Radev, *Stroitelitŕ na sŭvrŕmennata Bŭlgariya* [the builders of contemporary Bulgaria] (2d ed., 2 vols., Sofia, 1911), I, 14-105; many interesting details are revealed in the dispatches of the British and Austrian diplomatic agents in Sofia: W. G. Palgrave in Public Record Office, London, F. O. 78/2982 (hereafter cited as P. R. O.), and von Zwiŕdinek in Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, fasz. XII. 222 (hereafter cited as H. H. S.).

¹⁹ The details of the constitution itself are discussed in P. Milyukov, *Bŭlgarskata konstitutsiya* [the Bulgarian constitution] (Salonica, 1905), *passim*; S. Kirov, *Kratŕk kurs po bŭlgarsko konstitutsionno pravo* [a brief course in Bulgarian constitutional law] (Sofia, 1920), *passim*; Aleksandŕr Girginov, *Dŕrzhavnoto ustroistvo na Bŭlgariya* [the structure of the Bulgarian government] (Sofia, 1921), *passim*; Emmanoil Zlatanoff, *La constitution bulgare et ses principes* (Paris, 1926), *passim*; Vladikin, pp. 139-72; Balamezov, *passim*; and more briefly in Peter Schischkoff, *Aufbau des bulgarischen Staates* (Leipzig, 1928), *passim*; S. Balamezov, *La constitution de Tŕnovo* (Sofia, 1925), pp. 3-24; Slawtscho Metscheff, *Grundzŕge des bulgarischen Verfassungsrechts* (Gŕttingen, 1929), *passim*; Amadeo Giannini, *Le costituzioni degli stati dell'Europa orientale* (2 vols., Rome, 1929), I, 55-96.

views by a small group of prominent Bulgarians who formed the Conservative party under the leadership of Konstantin Stoilov. In defense of the constitution stood the members of the Liberal party, the heirs of the revolutionary tradition, led by Petko Karavelov, a brother of the revolutionary. A brief analysis of the views of these two groups will serve to show the extent to which they were dependent upon Western Europe for their political ideas.

Prince Alexander was young and proud, inexperienced and unbending. His training had prejudiced him against the idea of a liberal constitutional monarchy, and his brief experience with the Russian army in the field had convinced him that the Slavs had a great deal to learn from the Germans in matters of civil and military administration. He had acquired his political ideas at the military academy of Dresden and as a lieutenant in the Prussian army. His father, Alexander of Hesse, once referred to the new constitution as "an incredibly clumsy piece of work,"²⁰ and Battenberg himself considered it "ridiculously liberal."²¹ The young prince's political views are perhaps most accurately expressed in a statement reported by the British diplomatic agent in 1882. His Highness said that he desired "a Constitution such as he himself understood a Constitution to be; that under it the Sovereign is to be vested with full executive power, and that the government will not be dependent for its tenure of office on a hostile vote of the Representatives of the People."²² In pursuit of these objectives, Battenberg's chief aim during his brief reign was to strengthen his constitutional powers at the expense of those of the national assembly.²³

While Battenberg alone could not exert a determining influence on Bulgarian affairs, strength was added to his views by the support which they received from Stoilov's Conservative party. This moderate group, representing

²⁰ Quoted in Egon Corti, *The Downfall of Three Dynasties* (London, 1934), p. 256.

²¹ Quoted in Corti, *Alexander von Battenberg. Sein Kampf mit den Zaren und Bismarck* (Vienna, 1920), p. 63.

²² Robert Kennedy to Lord Granville, Sofia, June 25, 1882, P. R. O., F. O. 78/3414, No. 57.

²³ Corti's biography of Prince Alexander is the most authoritative, but it should be supplemented by P. A. Matvéev, *Bolgariya posle Berlinskogo kongressa: istoricheski ocherk* [Bulgaria after the Congress of Berlin: a historical sketch] (St. Petersburg, 1887), pp. 70-71; A. Koch, *Fürst Alexander von Bulgarien* (Darmstadt, 1887), pp. 16-17; A. G. Drandar, *Cinq ans de règne. Le prince Alexandre de Battenberg en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1884), p. 14; A. F. Golowine, *Fürst Alexander I. von Bulgarien (1879-1886)* (Vienna, 1896), pp. 19-20; Hans Klæber, *Fürst Alexander I von Bulgarien, ein Lebensbild* (Dresden, 1904), pp. 48-50, 63-86; P. D. Parensov, "V Bolgarii (Vospominaniya ofitsera general'nago shtaba)" [in Bulgaria (the recollections of an officer of the general staff)], *Russkaya starina*, CXXV (1906), 279-81; *Denkwürdigkeiten des Botschafters General v. Schweinitz* (2 vols., Berlin, 1927), II, 235-36; Sir Robert Windham Graves, *Storm Centres of the Near East: Personal Memories, 1879-1929* (London, 1933), p. 34; Corti, *Downfall of Three Dynasties*, pp. 229-48; Battenberg made no attempt to conceal his opinion of the constitution from the Austrian and English diplomatic agents: see especially H. H. S., fasz. XV, 17, nos. 3, 6, 16, and 19; and P. R. O., F. O. 78/2984, nos. 179 and 228, and F. O. 78/3308, no. 11.

the few prosperous landowners, merchants, and clergymen in the country, was as anxious now as it had been under the Turkish regime to see that the reins of authority were in firm and responsible hands. Naturally conservative in a social sense, these men saw in the political structure of the monarchies of Central Europe models which they could admire and imitate.²⁴ Stoilov himself, a prominent graduate of Robert College, had completed his education at Heidelberg and was attached to conservative principles.²⁵ Among the other leaders of the Conservatives were T. Ikonov²⁶ and S. N. Burmov,²⁷ both educated at the Kiev Theological Academy, who had become cautious and experienced after many years as schoolteachers and leaders in the national cause. D. P. Grekov,²⁸ of Greek parentage, and G. D. Nachevich²⁹ were both young men of means who had studied in Paris. Jireček,³⁰ the young Czech scholar, came to Bulgaria as adviser to the ministry of public instruction and soon became a close collaborator with Prince Alexander and Stoilov.

The point of view of the Conservatives is best expressed in a memoir in the French language prepared for the prince by Stoilov in the spring of 1881. This memoir claimed that the Bulgarian people had evolved political habits under Ottoman rule which made the application of a democratic form of government very difficult. For several generations a spirit of disregard for authority and revolt against the government had prevailed. In spite of this, the new constitution had given the prince powers similar to those of a nominal head of a republican regime. What Stoilov recommended was a strong, centralized administrative system with a carefully organized bureaucracy. A council of state would be in charge of the technical aspects of legislation, and the national assembly would be reduced in size and elected by an indirect system of voting. At the same time, the civil liberties granted in 1879 would be greatly circumscribed, and the emphasis would be shifted

²⁴ Yanko Sakazov, *Bŭlgarite v svojata istoriya* [the Bulgarians in their history] (3rd ed., Sofia, 1922), pp. 230-31; Blagoev, pp. 62-65; Hajek, *Bulgariens Befreiung*, pp. 138-39, 165; K. Stoilov, "Dnevniatsi. Politicheskata kriza v 1879 god." [diary: the political crisis in 1879], *Bŭlgarska misŭl*, I (1925), 15; Iv. Pandaleev Ormandzhiev, *Antim I bŭlgarski ekzarh* [Antim I, Bulgarian exarch] (Sofia, 1928), *passim*; K. Krachunov, *Marin Drinov (1838-1906). Zhivot i deŭnost* [Marin Drinov, 1838-1906: his life and career] (Sofia, 1938), *passim*.

²⁵ Iv. P. Plachkov, *Dr. K. Stoilov: zhivot i obshtestvena deŭnost* [Dr. K. Stoilov: life and public career] (Sofia, 1932), pp. 3-13.

²⁶ Ivan Todorov, *Todor Ikonov i deŭnostta mu v sluzhene na bŭlgarskiya narod* [Todor Ikonov and his career in the service of the Bulgarian nation] (Sofia, 1921), *passim*; Ikonov, IV, 103-14.

²⁷ Yu. Ivanov, *Bŭlgarskiŭ periodicheski pechat ot vŭzrazhdaniето mu do dnes (ot 1844-1890 god.)* [the Bulgarian periodical press from its renaissance until today, 1844-1890] (Sofia, 1893), p. 26.

²⁸ Marinov, *Stambolov*, pp. 99-100.

²⁹ Ivanov, pp. 200-201; Marinov, *Stambolov*, pp. 101-02.

³⁰ V. N. Zlatarski, "Prof. Dr. Konstantin Irechek," *Letopis na bŭlgarskata akademiya na naukite*, IV (1919), 85-110; K. Irechek, *Bŭlgarski dnevnik* [Bulgarian diary] (2 vols., Plovdiv and Sofia, 1930-32), I, v-xxix.

from the unfettered self-expression of the people to the careful planning of all phases of national life by a benevolent and paternalistic government.³¹ These views did not differ appreciably from those held in the West by the opponents of popular government and civil liberties.

The Liberals were fortunate in having Karavelov as their leader. After studying for a few years in a Greek school in Enos, Karavelov went to Moscow at the age of sixteen to complete his education. He was greatly influenced by the Russian idealism of the sixties, and he acquired a reading knowledge of English, French, and German, so as to gain access to the classics of his day in the fields of political economy, history, geography, statistics, political theory, and parliamentary law. The English writers were his favorites, and his views were always buttressed with quotations from Blackstone, Smith, Stephen, Maine, Stubbs, Gladstone, Disraeli, and particularly Bagehot.³² In Moscow he made a comfortable living as a tutor in prominent families, and he was a welcome guest in many of the exclusive salons of the city. During this period he had few contacts with Bulgaria, and he took no part in the revolutionary movement. Returning to Bulgaria during the War of Liberation, he soon became prominent because of his Russian contacts and the glory with which his brother Lyuben had endowed the name of Karavelov. Moreover, his extensive knowledge of political and constitutional problems and his casual references to authorities in several languages gave him great prestige among the younger schoolteachers and intellectuals who were looking for a theoretical and authoritative basis for their egalitarian sentiments.³³

If Karavelov was the intellectual leader of the Liberals, P. R. Slaveïkov and D. Tsankov were the popular leaders. Slaveïkov was the people's poet whose long struggle against the gentry, the Greek clergy, and the Turkish oppression had made opposition to privileged groups a second nature to him. His own contribution to the cause was the prestige of his name and

³¹ Plachkov, *Stoilov*, pp. 16-25; this point of view is reflected in the British agent's suggestion for an amendment to the constitution, Frank C. Lascelles to Lord Granville, Sofia, June 30, 1881, *Parliamentary Papers*, XCVIII, no. 91; and in Washburn, "What Is the Trouble in Bulgaria?" *The Independent*, XXXIII, no. 1698 (June 16, 1881), 3; the leading Conservative newspapers were the *Vitosha* (1879-80), the *Maritsa* (1878-85), and the *Bŭlgarski glas* [voice of Bulgaria] (1880-83).

³² P. Karavelov, "Bŭlgarskata konstitutsiya i predlagaemite v neya promĕneniya ot Konservativnata partiya" [the Bulgarian constitution and the amendments proposed by the Conservative party], *Nauka*, II (1882), 774-809; Al. Girginov, "P. Karavelov v sluzhba na demokratizma i v zashita na bŭlgarskite natsionalni interesi" [P. Karavelov in the service of democracy and in the defense of the Bulgarian national interests], *Petko Karavelov po sluchai 25 godishninata ot negovata smŕt i 50 godishninata na bŭlgarskata konstitutsiya* (Sofia, 1929), pp. 49-59.

³³ Iv. Georgov, "Zhivot i deïnost na Petko Karavelov" [the life and career of Petko Karavelov], *Petko Karavelov*, pp. 9-17; Nikola Mushanov, "Petko Karavelov kato dŭrzhavnik i reformator" [Petko Karavelov as a statesman and a reformer], *Petko Karavelov*, pp. 31-47; Georgi T. Danailov, "Petko Karavelov," *Godishnik na demokraticeskata partiya*, I (1905), 21-65.

the caustic wit of his tongue, which translated the nineteenth century liberalism of Karavelov into the language of the people.³⁴ In a characteristic speech in the constitutional assembly, Slaveïkov defended the common man as opposed to the privileged citizens,

who, in spite of their good intentions, have a hard time discovering what is wrong and how it can be helped, and in the end you find that they have scratched in places where there is no itch. Leave the people alone to seek the cures for the ailments which they feel, and rest assured that they will waste no time in finding them and applying them.³⁵

Tsankov was the stubborn and industrious politician who organized and rallied the party members who had been impressed by Karavelov's scholarly arguments and won over by Slaveïkov's colorful oratory. After studying in Odessa, Kiev, and Vienna, Tsankov set up a printing press in Constantinople in the 1850's and took an active part in the Bulgarian struggle for ecclesiastical independence. Later he joined the Turkish civil service, serving in Constantinople and in the Danube vilayet until the war. As an organizer he served the Liberal party well during its early years, but he had little use for political theories and he soon split with Karavelov over personal issues.³⁶

There was also an enthusiastic group of younger men in Karavelov's party, all of whom had been educated abroad. S. N. Stambolov, after several years in Odessa, plunged into politics as soon as he returned to Bulgaria.³⁷ N. Suknarov³⁸ and S. Milarov³⁹ both studied in Zagreb and became leaders in the field of journalism. I. P. Slaveïkov, a son of the poet, was educated at Robert College.⁴⁰ Radoslavov⁴¹ and Danev,⁴² who later became leaders in public life, arrived fresh from Western Europe early in the 1880's to join forces with the Liberals.

These were the men who, led by Karavelov, were chiefly responsible for the liberal character of the constitution of 1879. It is only necessary to review the amendments which they made at the constitutional assembly to the orig-

³⁴ Karavelov, "Petko R. Slaveïkov," *Godishnik na demokraticheskata partiya*, I (1905), 66-75; R. Slaveïkov, *Petko Rachov Slaveïkov, 1927-1895-1927. Ocherk za zhivota mu i spomeni za nego* [Petko Rachov Slaveïkov, 1927-1895-1927: a sketch of his life and recollections of him] (Sofia, 1927), *passim*; Boris Iotsov, "Petko Rachev Slaveïkov," *Bûlgarski pisateli*, M. Arnaudov, ed. (6 vols., Sofia, 1929-30), II, 120-71; Penev, IV, 464-65, 476-77.

³⁵ *Protokolitë*, p. 266.

³⁶ St. Chilingirov, "Dragan Tsankov," *Bûlgarski pisateli*, III, 173-96; Bobchev, "Dragan Tsankov," *Letopis na bûlgarskata akademiya na naukite*, I (1911), 51-54.

³⁷ Marinov, *Stambolov*, pp. 1-71; A. Hulme Beaman, *M. Stambuloff* (London, 1895), pp. 17-41; Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, p. 52.

³⁸ Ivanov, pp. 258-59.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-61.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 339-40; Vasil Radoslawoff, *Bulgarien und die Weltkrise* (Berlin, 1923), chap. 1.

⁴² Ivanov, pp. 375-76; see also St. Danev, "Polozhenieto v knyazhestvoto" [the situation in the principality], *Maritsa*, III, 156 (Jan. 29/Feb. 10, 1880), 5-7; III, 157 (Feb. 1/13, 1880), 7-8.

inal Organic Statute to discover how completely they relied on Western political ideas as a means of expressing the hopes and fears of the great majority of the responsible Bulgarian citizenry. An article introduced by the clergy forbidding proselytizing was vigorously attacked and defeated.⁴³ Slavery was prohibited.⁴⁴ Free and compulsory public education was provided for.⁴⁵ Freedom of press⁴⁶ and freedom of association⁴⁷ were guaranteed. All residents in Bulgaria were to enjoy civil liberties regardless of citizenship.⁴⁸ A bicameral legislature⁴⁹ and a council of state⁵⁰ were rejected as harboring overtones of aristocracy and tyranny. Sharp debates took place on all of these matters, and only occasionally were the Liberals forced to agree to a compromise after adopting too extreme an initial position.⁵¹

It has been held that the terms "Conservative" and "Liberal" as used in Bulgaria were only "a perfunctory imitation of England's party nomenclature."⁵² In view of the sources from which Bulgaria's leaders had borrowed their political views, it is difficult to see what party names could have been more appropriate. No one saw this more clearly in the first days of the liberation than the British agent. He reported:

⁴³ *Protokoliŭ*, p. 216; in this the Liberals were supported by the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, Gabriel Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'empire ottoman* (4 vols., Paris, 1897-1903), IV, 178; for the position of the clergy at this time, see Hr. Vŭrgov, *Konstitutsiyata na bŭlgarskata pravoslavna tsŭrkva (istoriya i razvoŭ na ekzarhŭskiya ustav)* [the constitution of the Bulgarian Orthodox church (history and development of the exarchal statute)] (Sofia, 1921), pp. 24-42.

⁴⁴ *Protokoliŭ*, pp. 222-23.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-46.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 246-50, 321-22; Ikononov, IV, 112; on this point the Liberals were given encouragement by the *Zornitsa*, IV, no. 18 (May 3/15, 1879), 70, the organ of the American missionaries, and by Iv. N. Matinchev, "Gotovi li sme za svobodno pechat?" [are we ready for a free press?], *Maritsa*, III, no. 178 (Apr. 15/27, 1880), 6-7; III, no. 179 (Apr. 18/30, 1880), 6-7; until the liberation, newspapers were regulated by the Turkish press law of 1865, Aristarchi Bey, *La législation ottomane* (4 vols., Constantinople, 1875), III, 320-25.

⁴⁷ *Protokoliŭ*, pp. 251, 313-19; Bakalov, "Russkaya revolyutsionnaya emigratsiya sredi bolgar. II. Ot osvobodheniya do soedinaniya dvuh Bolgarii (1878-1885 g.g.)" [Russian revolutionary émigrés among the Bulgarians. II. From the liberation to the union of the two Bulgarias (1878-1885)], *Katorga i ssylka*, LXIV, 105-06.

⁴⁸ *Protokoliŭ*, p. 220.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 252-66; Marinov, *Stambolov*, pp. 63-66; Radev, I, 73-79; Vladikin, pp. 164-68; Detchko Karadjow, *Contre le système d'une chambre unique en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1927), pp. 26-30.

⁵⁰ *Protokoliŭ*, pp. 294-98.

⁵¹ For further evidence of the Liberal point of view, see I. K., "Petko Karavelov i ego mŕsto v istorii Bolgarii" [Petko Karavelov and his place in Bulgarian history], *Vŕstnik evropy*, XXXVIII (1903), 802-14; Yurdan Yurdanov, *Bŭlgarskiya liberalizm (Pogled vŕrhu nasheto politicheskŭo minalo)* [Bulgarian liberalism (a glance at our political past)] (Sofia, 1926), *passim*; Blagoev, pp. 62-65; Radev, I, 29-31; Bakalov, *Katorga y ssylka*, LXIV, 105-20; the chief organs of the Liberal press were the *Tsŕlokupna Bŭlgariya* [integral Bulgaria] (1879), the *Nezavisimost* [independence] (1880-82), the *Sŕznanie* [conscience] (1883-84), and the *Tŭrnovska Konstitutsiya* [Tirnov constitution] (1884-87).

⁵² T. Tchitchovsky, "Political and Social Aspects of Modern Bulgaria," *Slavonic Review*, VII (1929), 275; W. N. Medlicott, *The Congress of Berlin and After: A Diplomatic History of the Near Eastern Settlement, 1878-1880* (London, 1938), p. 255, adopts the same view on the ground that "no social interest existed to form the basis of defence and reform," but immediately contradicts himself when he says that "Some evidence of a social or economic basis of division can, however, be seen in the discussions over the necessity for a second chamber."

the parties themselves are beginning to assume distinctive and definite colourings that will probably long distinguish them. The so-called Conservative has in view the extension of the Administrative or Executive Power, and, though covertly, of the Princely Prerogative; the so-called Liberal, that of the Legislative or Representative Authority. . . . Personal motives, love of power or place, and the like, have doubtless much to do in the struggle now commencing; but below all these there is a real divergency of principles at work, and it is likely to widen as time goes on.⁵³

The division into two parties was to some extent a traditional one and represented social conflicts of several generations standing. This is shown in one Liberal's attack on "the conservative, or rather the obscurantist, microscopic party which . . . is supported only by those suspicious characters who in Turkish times sucked the sweat of the people and profited from their hardship and suffering."⁵⁴ The Conservative press, on the other hand, referred to their opponents as being half-educated, mediocre presidents of courts and local councils who listened to the speakers who shouted the loudest and who represented a false type of liberalism.⁵⁵ In addition to the traditional divisions, the liberation from Turkish rule was accompanied by an economic revolution which soon added new fuel to the old antagonisms.⁵⁶ But what is important is the fact that, regardless of the origins of these antagonisms, the leaders of both parties looked to Western Europe for solutions to their political problems. Nor was it merely a matter of naïve imitation. "I believe," wrote Karavelov in 1882, "that the desire of the Europeans to adopt all the English institutions, without carefully investigating their practice, is one of the chief reasons for the many failures which parliamentarianism has suffered."⁵⁷ The problem, then, was to adapt the institutions developed in Western Europe to local conditions.

Western political thought and practice offered a vast panorama of ideas with which the Bulgarian leaders were acquainted, and the influence of these ideas on the revolution and on the young state should not be underestimated. In times of trouble they served as a beacon to guide the bewildered leaders of an ignorant people. Had it not been for the principles preached by Voltaire

⁵³ Palgrave to Lord Salisbury, Sofia, Oct. 6, 1879, P. R. O., F. O. 78/2984, No. 186; Palgrave's interpretation has subsequently received wide support: Blagoev, pp. 63-65; Marinov, *Stambolov*, p. 57; Radoslawoff, p. 3; Sakázov, pp. 230-31; Yurdanov, pp. 3-7; Todor G. Vlaikov, "Nashitē partii (Kak sã sūzđadeni tē i kak sã se namnozhili)" [our parties (how they were created and how they have multiplied)], *Sūchineniya* (6 vols., Sofia, 1925-31), V, 322-38; and Al. S. Stamboliiski, *Politicheski partii ili sūslowni organizatsii?* [political parties or professional organizations?] (2d ed., Sofia, 1920), pp. 166-67.

⁵⁴ *Tsēlokupna Būlgariya*, I, 9 (July 25/Aug. 6, 1879), 1; see also the *Nezavisimost*, V, 1 (Aug. 27/Sept. 8, 1880), 1-4; and V, 8 (Sept. 24/Oct. 6, 1880), 1-2.

⁵⁵ *Maritsa*, II, 71 (Apr. 6/18, 1879), 5-6.

⁵⁶ Ivan Sakázov, *Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 265-67; Zhak Natan, II, 24-56; Karl Kassner, *Bulgarien und die Türkei*, "Länder und Völker der Türkei, Heft 10," (Leipzig, 1918), p. 26.

⁵⁷ Karavelov, *Nauka*, II, 801.

and Rousseau, Mazzini and Bakunin, Gladstone and Bagehot, the fight against Turkish misgovernment might well have resulted only in a local reshuffling of political power. Those who favored such a compromise looked to the bureaucratic states for models. Those favoring a complete break with the Ottoman system, however, found a full program of principles and slogans in the liberal and radical tradition of Western political thought. The success of the revolution spelt the success of the ideas which had guided it, and when the time came to set up a permanent form of government, all proposals for a dominant bureaucracy and a limited assembly were defeated.

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Russian Opinion on the Cession of Alaska

WITH a dispatch from the embassy at Moscow dated December 2, 1936, the Department of State received copies from the Moscow archives of nearly fifty papers relevant to the cession of Alaska to the United States. Those copies were obtained through the courtesy of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Photostats of the copies are now in the National Archives.

Most of those papers are in French; the rest are in Russian. The four that are here printed show something of Russian opinion regarding the sale of Alaska by the treaty of March 30, 1867.¹

In the summer of 1854 it was asserted in the press that Russia was willing to sell Alaska to the United States (see the New York *Herald*, July 20, 1854, and July 25, 1854; *Times*, London, August 8, 1854). The late Professor Frank Alfred Golder wrote that "one day" Secretary of State William L. Marcy and Senator William McKendree Gwin² of California "went to Stoeckl³ and told him that if Russia would sell, the United States would buy, and pay handsomely. Stoeckl assured them that there was not a grain of truth in the newspaper talk and asked them to forget about it." ("The Purchase of Alaska," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 411-25, at p. 412.) The date of this interview does not appear; Stoeckl later referred to that talk with Marcy and Gwin as no more than "a mere conversation."

It seems that the cession of Alaska was first seriously considered at St. Petersburg in 1857. Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich, brother of Emperor Alexander II, wrote a letter from Nice on March 22/ April 3, 1857, to Prince Alexander Mikhailovich Gorchakov, minister of foreign affairs, proposing the sale of "our North American colonies." He pointed out that money

¹ A fully documented account of the events leading up to the Alaska Treaty, of the circumstances of the negotiation, and of the execution of the treaty is in preparation for inclusion in Volume IX of *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*.

² Senator from California from September, 1850, to March, 1855, and from January, 1857, to March, 1861.

³ Édouard de Stoeckl was attaché or secretary of the Russian legation at Washington from 1841; he presented his credentials as chargé d'affaires on March 24, 1854; from February 21, 1857, he was Russian minister and continued in that capacity until October, 1868, when, at the age of sixty, he left Washington, not to return. On January 2, 1856, at Springfield, Massachusetts, Stoeckl married Eliza W. Howard, youngest daughter of the late John Howard, of Springfield (Springfield *Weekly Republican*, Jan. 5, 1856). Stoeckl retired from diplomatic service in the early months of 1869 (see Golder, "The American Civil War through the Eyes of a Russian Diplomat," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI, 454-55, n. 2; also, Golder, *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives*, II [Washington, 1917-37], 43, items of Jan. 19 and Apr. 20, 1869).

Stoeckl was not "Baron," though erroneously so styled in numerous American writings up to the present time. In 1864 Stoeckl was made privy counselor, but he had no title of nobility.

was needed by the Russian treasury and that the colonies "bring us a very small profit"; and he argued that "we must not deceive ourselves and must foresee that the United States, aiming constantly to round out their possessions and desiring to dominate undividedly the whole of North America will take the afore-mentioned colonies from us and we shall not be able to regain them." (A facsimile of that letter, in Russian, is in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.) The suggestion of Konstantin was the subject of discussion in the inner circles of the Russian government in 1857 and 1858, but no definite step was then taken.

In two dispatches⁴ of January 4, 1860, Stoeckl told of conversations regarding the possible cession of Alaska which he had had with Senator Gwin and Assistant Secretary of State John Appleton. The conversations were carried on with the knowledge of President Buchanan, and a price of five million dollars was mentioned by Senator Gwin. Those conversations terminated in June or July, 1860; it was then obvious that the political situation in the United States was such that a treaty of cession was not a possibility. Some account of those talks was given by Senator Sumner in his celebrated speech in the Senate on April 8, 1867⁵ (*Works of Charles Sumner*, XI [Boston, 1870-73], 186-349, at pp. 203-05).

That the sale of Alaska continued to be thought of at St. Petersburg is evidenced by the fact that the last Russian governor general of Alaska, Prince Dmitri Petrovich Maksutov, in conversation with Grand Duke Konstantin in 1863 "defended our colonies as having, in the present and in the future, great importance for Russia, and expressed his opposition to their sale." (Letter dated November 22, 1917, from Rybinsk, written by Prince Alexander Maksutov, son of Prince Dmitri Petrovich Maksutov; *S beregov Ameriki* or *From American Shores* [New York, 1939], p. 241.)⁶

⁴ The longer and more important of those two dispatches is printed, with a translation, in the *Pacific Historical Review*, III, 80-87. The phrase there omitted from the penultimate paragraph of the dispatch is: "qui l'acheminera à Votre Excellence par le premier courrier."

On a digest of that dispatch, Emperor Alexander II wrote, "Il faudra encore y penser."

⁵ The generally accepted date for Sumner's speech is April 9, but April 8 is correct. He began by saying that senators had "just listened to the reading of the treaty"; this was the second reading which was had on April 8 (*Executive Journal*, XV, 663); it was fitting that the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations should open the debate; in a Washington dispatch of April 8 in the *New York Tribune* (Apr. 9, 1867) it is stated that Sumner "made a forcible and eloquent speech of three hours and a half duration in support of the recommendation of the Committee"; and in a Washington dispatch of April 8 in the *New York Times* (Apr. 9, 1867), the speech of Sumner is mentioned as having taken two hours.

What Sumner actually said in the Senate cannot now be known. His printed speech is of not far from fifty thousand words and is a revision and extension of the utterance. Sumner's account of the talks of 1859-60 was based on a résumé of Stoeckl for the period of the Buchanan administration; that summary was not in the hands of Sumner until after the Senate had acted on the treaty; so this portion of Sumner's address did not form part of his remarks in the Senate.

⁶ I am indebted to Dr. Sergius Yakobson, consultant in Slavic History, Library of Congress, for this interesting reference.

The decision of the Russian government to cede Alaska to the United States, if an agreement to that effect could be negotiated, was taken at a meeting held on Friday, December 16, 1866 (old style), presided over by the Emperor Alexander II. Those in attendance were Grand Duke Konstantin, Prince Gorchakov, minister of foreign affairs, Vice Admiral Krabbe, minister of the marine, Michel de Reutern, minister of finance, and the Russian minister at Washington, Édouard de Stoeckl.⁷

The first of the papers here printed (translation from the Russian)⁸ has the day of that meeting for its date. Its author was Baron Feodor Romanovich Osten-Saken, who in 1866 held a junior position in the Asiatic department of the ministry for foreign affairs.⁹ While the views of Osten-Saken had no influence on Russian policy, they are of historical interest.

On September 11, 1892 (old style), Osten-Saken, who by this time was a high official of the Russian foreign office, placed in the files an excerpt from his diary for the date of his earlier memorandum. This paper, the second here printed (translation from the Russian), shows that Osten-Saken had mistakenly supposed that the meeting under the presidency of the emperor was to be held on the day following his memorandum instead of on the very day of its writing.

For some years before 1867 Stoeckl had favored the sale of the Russian colonies in North America to the United States. The treaty of cession, signed on March 30, 1867, by Secretary of State Seward and the Russian minister, was the subject of hostile comment in Russia when it became known there.¹⁰ Stoeckl thought that the criticisms should be answered. To this end he wrote a memoir in the form of a dispatch to Prince Gorchakov, dated July 24, 1867. This dispatch, written in French, bearing two notations, one by Prince Gorchakov and the other by the emperor, is the third of the papers which follow.

Finally, there is a letter of Stoeckl written at the same time as his memoir, though dated simply July, 1867. This letter is addressed to his friend V. Westmann (spelled Westman in the transcription of the letter), who at the time

⁷ Stoeckl had left his post in the autumn of 1866 for a visit to Russia and arrived again in the United States on February 15, 1867.

⁸ Dr. Yakobson has been good enough to advise on the translations from the Russian.

⁹ In a work published in 1905 it is said that Osten-Saken had served in the Russian foreign office for fifty years (Henri Cordier, *L'expédition de Chine, 1857-1858* [Paris, 1905], p. 404).

¹⁰ In this connection Dr. Yakobson calls attention to page 252 of the work entitled *Russian American Company* by S. B. Okun', which was published at Moscow and Leningrad in 1939. For instance, in its leading article of March 25, 1867, No. 84, the Russian newspaper *Golos* commented bitterly on the possible sale of Alaska as follows: "Today, rumors sell the Nikolai Railway, and tomorrow the Russian colonies in America. Who will guarantee that the day after tomorrow the same rumors will not start selling the Crimea, Trans-Caucasia and the Baltic Provinces? There will be no lack of people eager to buy."

was director of the chancery in the ministry of foreign affairs, a post which was substantially equivalent to that of under secretary.

Washington, D. C.

HUNTER MILLER

I

MEMORANDUM OF OSTEN-SAKEN CONCERNING THE PROPOSED SALE OF THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COLONIES, DECEMBER 16, 1866

The considerations in favor of the sale of our American colonies consist, as far as is known, of the following:

- 1/ The complete uselessness of these colonies for Russia.
- 2/ Fears that they will be taken away from us sooner or later.
- 3/ The advantage of obtaining in exchange for them a considerable sum of money.

With reference to the first consideration:

Are we in a position at the present time to have any definite conception of whether or not these colonies can be useful to Russia? For 70 years the colonies have been at the exclusive disposal of a lifeless company, the only service of which, as far as Russia is concerned, has consisted in the fact that its existence has served as a sort of superficial sign of our possession and thus prevented outside powers from occupying an unoccupied place. At the present time the Government, having finally convinced itself of the inefficiency of the Company, has set out to reorganize the state of affairs in the colony. Can it be that the Government already despairs of the success of an experiment which was conceived as far back as 1860, but not yet carried out? Could one after all, on the basis of the uselessness of the Company, draw conclusions about the uselessness of that particular territory which the Company managed and concerning which we definitely know nothing at all with the exception of a few fragmentary reports which have come to us for the most part through the hands of this same inefficient Company?

On the second question, the position of our American colonies from a purely political sense can be called particularly favorable. The history of the expansion of Russian, English, and American possessions in those parts explains to us better than anything else could why we have not a long time ago been forced out of North America. Whoever acquaints himself with the history of the continual rivalry between England and America on the northwest coast of America throughout the course of the present century* will begin to understand how it was that the insignificant power of our Company could survive alongside of such powerful neighbors. This rivalry alone, it would seem, could explain the (comparatively) favorable treaties of 1824 and 1825, as well as the Neutrality Convention at the time of the late war.¹¹ *As long as the present state of affairs exists in North America there is hardly any ground to fear the seizure of our colonies by another power.*

On the third point:

*[Osten-Saken's comment] There is a very instructive book on this subject: "Greenhow. Memoir historical and political on the Northwest Coast of North America 1840," written, of course, from the American point of view.

¹¹ The two treaties mentioned are the convention between the United States and Russia of April 17, 1824 (*Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, III, 151-62) and the convention between Great Britain and Russia of February 28, 1825 (*12 British and Foreign State Papers*, pp. 38-43). The neutrality arrangement for the territorial possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company in North America was reached with the approval of both the British and Russian governments in March, 1854 (for the papers of this agreement, see *Alaskan Boundary Tribunal*, IV, Part II, 14-21).

In case the sum which we might receive for our colonies were great enough to cover a certain portion of our State debts, then, of course, the temptation would be strong, but a few millions or even a few tens of millions of rubles will hardly have any State importance in an empire which has about half a billion of annual income and expenditure and more than one and one-half billions of debts.

The more or less unaccountable fear of losing our colonies through attack on them by a foreign power could be set off against other fears with respect to the various misunderstandings, disadvantages, further seizures, etc., to which we should be subject if we were to receive a new next-door neighbor in the person of the United States of North America.

Possibly these fears would be just as unaccountable as the first, but do not the following considerations deserve some attention:

As a result of the sale of our American colonies:

1/ The distribution of the North American continent between the three great powers, as it has taken shape historically, will be disturbed.

2/ At the present time there is one important hindrance to a further movement of the Americans farther and farther to the west along the coast of the Pacific Ocean: the possessions of the strong naval power—England. By purchasing our colonies, the Americans will jump over this barrier with one step. Are we in a position to oppose them with any counter-action in the Eastern Siberian territories? The existing—and for us advantageous—equilibrium in the northwestern corner of America will then be destroyed beyond repair.

3/ The nearest temptation for an advance will be the possibility of having in one's exclusive possession the important telegraph line which will connect the new world with the old. Will this not serve as a sufficiently strong motive for gaining access to Japan and China along the chain of volcanic islands connecting America with Kamchatka, Kamchatka with Sakhalin, etc.? *The around-the-world telegraph line will then be hopelessly lost for Siberia and for Mongolia (with relation to China); it will go directly south.**

One cannot fail to note that in all that has been said above only the negative qualities of our American colonies seem to stand out. As far as the *positive* advantages are concerned they belong in reality only to the future, but it would seem that the present generation had a sacred obligation to preserve for the future generations every clod of earth along the coast of an ocean which has world-wide importance.

Osten-Saken

December 16, 1866
Evening

II

With reference to the attached packet, I make the following entry in my diary for 1866:

"On December 16, 1866, I learned entirely by chance from Engelhardt (at that time Assistant Director of the Asiatic Department) that a committee meeting had been called for the following day at which the question of the sale of our Russian-American colonies would be decided. Shaken to the depths of my soul by this news I sat down, after returning home from the Department, to write a very short memorandum on that subject. I do not make it a rule to express my opinion when

*[Osten-Saken's comment] In Japan, China, etc., there are no water intervals which could offer any real hindrance to a submarine cable.

I am not asked for it; but on this occasion I felt it my sacred duty to do everything in my power in order to avoid the threatening danger. During my entire service I have never encountered a matter of equal importance which, once done, could never be corrected.

"I did not know what reasons existed for undertaking the sale just at that time, and for that reason I could not refute any arguments which had really been advanced; I was interested principally in writing as briefly as possible, for only in that case could I hope that my memorandum would be read.

"The memorandum was written at one sitting; I acknowledge that it now seems to me that much should have been expanded upon or said in a different way; at that time the main consideration was to make it as short as possible and to get it in on time.

"On the morning of the 17th I gave this memorandum to Engelhardt at his apartment. He apparently did not understand the enormous importance from the point of view of the State of the question of the sale and was surprised at my efforts and at my downheartedness: The argument based on the equilibrium, and *pondération*, on the North American continent seemed, however, to interest him. I asked Engelhardt to transmit my memorandum, if he found it possible to do so, to the Director, P. P. Stremoukhov. I suppose that he will do it. I suppose that he has already done it. . . . A few hours later the fate of our American colonies was decided.

"I urgently begged that my memorandum shall be attached to the file. . . ."

Osten-Saken

September 11, 1892.

III

No 23.

Washington, le 12/24 Juillet 1867.
(très remarquable)¹² Oui et on pourrait en
faire un extrait et le publier.¹³

Monsieur le Chancelier,

Nos colonies Américaines ont été jusqu'ici peu connues, même en Russie. Les seules informations, qu'on avait, provenaient des documents publiés de tems en tems par la compagnie qui avait un intérêt à présenter l'état du pays sous un aspect satisfaisant. Aussi le traité de cession paraît-il avoir donné lieu, dans les journaux Russes, à des commentaires plus ou moins erronnés.

Je prends la liberté, mon Prince, de soumettre à Votre Excellence quelques détails sur cette question que ma position m'a mis à même d'étudier.

La découverte de l'Amérique sembla créer une nouvelle ère dans le monde. Toutes les Puissances Européennes, grandes et petites, se jetèrent sur le nouveau continent pour exploiter les immenses richesses qu'il contenait. Les aborigènes furent chassés, ou plutôt détruits. Des empires entiers furent fondés, mais ces empires disparurent et ne laissèrent aux Puissances qui les avaient fondés aucun profit.

L'Angleterre a été peut-être la seule exception. Ses colonies lui servirent à accroître le débit de ses manufactures et à donner une immense extension à sa marine, cet élément de sa prospérité et de sa puissance.

La tendance des colonies a été de tout tems de se rendre indépendantes. Les treize provinces Britanniques, qui formèrent plus tard la république des Etats-

¹² Notation by Prince Gorchakov.

¹³ Notation by the emperor.

Unis, ont été les premières à secouer le joug de la mère patrie. L'Angleterre fit des efforts inouïs pour les soumettre sans y réussir. La guerre de l'indépendance n'a eu d'autre résultat que celui d'accroître la jalouse rivalité qui existait déjà entre les colonies et la métropole et de susciter entre les deux nations des sentimens hostiles qu'un siècle n'a pas encore effacés.

L'Espagne a eu pour partage les plus belles contrées de ce continent. Le drapeau de Castille flottait depuis le Mexique jusqu'à l'Amazone et sur toute l'étendue des côtes du Pacifique. A quoi servirent à l'Espagne toutes les richesses de ce vaste territoire qu'elle posséda près de trois siècles? En perdant ses possessions Américaines, le Gouv-t Espagnol se trouva plus faible, la nation plus pauvre que le jour où Christophe Colomb découvrit le nouveau monde.

La France chercha également à fonder des colonies. Elle fut entraînée dans des guerres longues et dispendieuses. L'Angleterre lui enleva le Bas-Canada. Plus tard, elle s'est vue forcée de vendre la Louisiane que le voisinage des Etats Unis menaçait d'un danger permanent. C'était un grand sacrifice pour elle, car elle perdait avec la Louisiane la vallée du Mississippi, aujourd'hui la partie la plus fertile de l'Union, et abandonnait cinquante à soixante mille français qui peuplaient ce territoire.

Le Portugal a agi avec plus de prudence. Voyant qu'il ne pouvait pas conserver le Brésil, il s'en est séparé spontanément et des relations amicales s'établirent entre les deux pays. Le Brésil arriva à son indépendance sans révolution. Il conserva les institutions monarchiques et se sauva ainsi de l'anarchie qui désole toutes les républiques Américaines de race latine.

La Russie a été la dernière parmi les Puissances Européennes que le nouveau continent avait attirées. C'est sous le règne de l'Impératrice Anne que fut organisée l'expédition destinée à explorer le Pacifique. Mais il paraît que c'est Pierre le Grand qui le premier en a conçu l'idée. Ce Souverain dont le génie semblait percer l'avenir, avait prévu que les côtes de l'Asie Septentrionale devaient un jour faire partie de son grand Empire et l'expédition avait évidemment pour but l'exploration de ces côtes. C'est en effet la direction que prirent les navires Russes sous les ordres de Behring. La découverte du continent Américain du Nord paraît n'avoir été qu'un hasard. Un des navires, sous le commandement du Capitaine Tchérïkow, s'étant séparé de l'expédition, se dirigea vers l'Est et découvrit les îles Aléoutes. Plus tard d'autres navires Russes parcoururent les côtes de l'Amérique jusqu'au cinquante-quatrième degré de longitude Nord et ce territoire devint la propriété de la Russie par droit de découverte.

Plusieurs aventuriers visitèrent les îles Aléoutes pour faire le trafic des fourrures, mais aucun établissement permanent ne fut créé ni sur les îles, ni sur le continent. En 1799 fut organisée, sous le règne de l'Empereur Paul, la compagnie Russe-Américaine qui a existé jusqu'à ce jour.

En donnant à cette compagnie des privilèges extraordinaires, en lui confiant l'administration et le contrôle absolu de nos possessions Américaines, l'objet du Gouvernement n'était certainement pas de faire de ce territoire un patrimoine à perpétuité de quelques centaines d'actionnaires. Le Gouv-t Impérial devait espérer que la compagnie, tout en soignant ses intérêts, chercherait à améliorer la situation du pays de manière à ce qu'un jour le gouvernement central, en le prenant sous sa propre direction, en fit une province éloignée, utile à toute la nation.

Ce but n'a point été atteint. Il est évident d'après le rapport du Conseiller d'Etat actuel Kostlivtsov et du Capitaine Golovnine chargés en 1861 d'une mission spéciale, que l'état de nos colonies n'était guère satisfaisant. La situation des Indiens des îles, soumises à notre domination, n'avait pas été améliorée ni au physique, ni

au moral, et les tribus de la terre ferme continuaient à être aussi sauvages et aussi hostiles qu'elles étaient à l'époque de la découverte. La population blanche s'élevait à peine à cinq cent personnes, toutes employés ou serviteurs de la compagnie, et à près de 1200 créoles. Aucun effort n'a été fait jusqu'ici pour explorer l'intérieur du pays et tacher de tirer profit des ressources qu'il pouvait offrir. Au contraire, la Compagnie avait cherché à employer ses capitaux dans des entreprises étrangères à nos colonies, telles que le commerce de thé avec la Chine, la pêche de la baleine dans la mer d'Okhotsk etc. etc.

Je n'ai nullement l'intention d'attaquer la compagnie. Je cite simplement les faits. Mais s'il est vrai qu'avec plus d'habileté et d'énergie elle aurait pu faire davantage, on doit d'un autre côté lui tenir compte des obstacles qu'elle a eu à vaincre.

A l'expiration de la charte de la compagnie, la question s'est élevée de savoir si nos colonies devaient être administrées par le Gouv-t Impérial, ou bien être remises de nouveau entre les mains de la compagnie.

Dans le premier cas, le Gouv-t Impérial aurait dû envoyer sur les lieux un gouverneur et une foule d'employés subalternes, y attirer l'émigration, soigner la culture des céréales et des bestiaux, qui est difficile dans ce pays mais pas impraticable, établir des communications régulières, enfin créer tout. Il est inutile de dire combien cette entreprise eut été difficile. En tout cas elle n'aurait pu réussir qu'avec le tems et des sacrifices pécuniaires incalculables.

Renouveler la charte de la compagnie eut été prolonger l'état de choses existant, et il était même douteux que la compagnie dans sa position actuelle ait pu continuer son existence.

Dans le comité, présidé par l'Empereur et auquel Sa Majesté a daigné me permettre d'assister, Mr. le Ministre des Finances a fourni des renseignements détaillés sur l'état actuel de la compagnie et sur les sacrifices que le Gouvernement devait faire pour soutenir son crédit. L'exposé aussi clair que précis de Mr. de Reuteren me dispense de m'étendre sur ce sujet.

A part ces difficultés, nous aurions rencontré des obstacles sérieux de la part de nos voisins les Américains.

Dans mes rapports, j'ai plus d'une fois fait mention de la situation où nos colonies nous plaçaient vis-à-vis des Etats-Unis. Que Votre Excellence veuille me permettre d'en faire ici un court résumé.

Notre traité du 5/17 Avril 1824 stipule "que les citoyens Américains n'aborderont à aucun point où il se trouve un établissement Russe sans la permission du Gouverneur ou du Commandant, et que réciproquement les sujets Russes ne pourront aborder sans permission à aucun établissement des Etats Unis sur la côte Nord-Ouest."

En 1824, époque où ce traité a été signé, les Etats Unis n'avaient pas de possessions sur le Pacifique, plus tard ils ont conquis la Californie et y ont établi plusieurs ports. Les Américains recevaient nos navires à San-Francisco comme à New-York c.à d. sans aucune entrave, mais ils demandaient les mêmes privilèges dans les ports de nos possessions. Après plusieurs instances, la compagnie finit par ouvrir aux navires des Etats-Unis le port de Sitka, mais le monopole du commerce exercé par la Compagnie rendait cette concession illusoire, car les Américains ne pouvaient ni apporter et vendre leurs marchandises, ni acheter les produits de nos colonies.

A mesure que la population des Etats-Unis augmentait sur les côtes du Pacifique, ces réclamations devenaient de plus en plus fréquentes. Les Américains nous disaient: "nous ne voulons pas profiter des restrictions du traité; vos navires

entrent chez nous librement; votre Compagnie envoie chez nous ses agents, y établit des comptoirs et fait un commerce libre. Tout ce que nous exigeons est la permission de jouir des mêmes avantages chez Vous."

A toutes ces réclamations je répondais conformément aux instructions qui m'avaient été données à plusieurs reprises, qu'à l'expiration de la charte de la compagnie, le Gouv-t Impérial prendrait des mesures pour régler ces questions. Je ne pouvais rien faire de plus, car au fond ce que les Américains demandaient n'était qu'une stricte réciprocité, base principale de toute relation commerciale entre les nations.

Nous avons sans nul doute le droit de nous tenir aux termes du traité et maintenir le système d'exclusion dans nos colonies. Les Américains ne l'ont jamais contesté, mais ils nous disaient: "le traité nous donne le même droit et nous pouvons fermer nos ports et nos établissements sur le Pacifique aux sujets et aux navires Russes," et je dois faire observer ici que le traité ne parle pas des agens ou des bâtimens de la compagnie, mais de sujets Russes et de bâtimens Russes en général, de manière qu'en maintenant en vigueur les stipulations de la convention de 1824, ce n'est pas seulement les navires de la compagnie qui auraient souffert, mais tous les bâtimens sous pavillon Russe sans distinction. C'eût été sacrifier la navigation nationale aux intérêts de la compagnie.

Le Gouv-t des Etats-Unis appuyait souvent ces réclamations, mais il n'insistait pas. Il n'a jamais pris en mauvaise part les refus que nous avons été plus d'une fois dans le cas de faire et je suis persuadé qu'il aurait toujours mis la meil leur volonté à régler toutes ces questions à l'amiable.

Mais un autre danger menaçait nos possessions. Je veux parler des flibustiers Américains qui pululent dans le Pacifique.

Quelques étendues que soient les limites de la confédération des Etats-Unis, elles paraissent encore restreintes à l'activité fiévreuse et à l'esprit d'entreprise des Américains. A leurs yeux ce continent est leur patrimoine. Leur destinée (our manifest destiny comme ils l'appellent) est de s'étendre toujours, et dans cette extension, que la nation a poursuivie avec autant de persévérance que de succès, les aventuriers ont joué dans plus d'une occasion le rôle de prisonniers. Ce sont eux qui ont envahi peu-à-peu le Texas, devenu plus tard un Etat de l'Union. Le nouveau Mexique et quelques autres parties du Sud ont été acquis de la même manière.

Il était à espérer que le peu de ressources de nos colonies les mettraient à l'abri de la rapacité des flibustiers, mais il en a été autrement. La pêche, les fourrures et quelques autres produits, comparativement insignifiants de nos possessions, ne valent certainement pas les riches vallées du Mississippi et de Rio-Grande, ni les plaines aurifères de la Californie, et cependant ils n'ont pas échappé à la convoitise des Américains.

Je m'abstiendrai d'énumérer ici les plaintes auxquelles leurs déprédations sur nos côtes ont donné lieu. Aux réclamations que nous adressions au Gouv-t Fédéral, il nous répondait toujours; "nous ne pouvons pas empêcher nos citoyens de sortir du pays; s'ils commettent ensuite des désordres sur votre territoire, c'est à Vous à la défendre". Il n'y avait qu'un moyen de mettre un terme à cet état de choses, c'était de maintenir dans ces parages une nombreuse escadre.

Malgré les moyens assez formidables que la G-de Bretagne possède dans le Pacifique, ses possessions n'ont été, pas plus que les nôtres, à l'abri des déprédations des flibustiers. Il y a trois ans,¹⁴ le bruit s'était répandu qu'on trouvait de l'or sur

¹⁴ In fact in 1858.

la rivière Frazer dans la Colombie Britannique. A moins de quelques semaines quatre à cinq-mille Américains se trouvaient sur les lieux, faisant des fouilles. Le Gouverneur Anglais, ne pouvant pas les renvoyer ou craignant de le faire, leur permit de rester dans le territoire à condition de se soumettre aux lois de la colonie. Les Américains refusèrent, déclarèrent qu'ils ne reconnaissaient d'autre autorité que celle des Etats-Unis et formèrent un gouvernement provisoire. L'Angleterre les laissa faire. Heureusement pour elle, l'or n'était pas aussi abondant qu'on le croyait, il fut bientôt épuisé et les Américains se dispersèrent. Sans cela, la Colombie Britannique serait aujourd'hui un territoire des Etats-Unis.

De toutes les colonies qui couvraient jadis le nouveau monde, il ne restait en dernier lieu, à part les îles, que les provinces Britanniques du Canada et nos possessions.

L'Angleterre n'a aujourd'hui qu'un seul but, celui de se débarrasser du Canada pour le maintien duquel elle doit faire des sacrifices immenses et des dépenses peu proportionnées aux bénéfices qu'elle retire. Mais ce qu'elle désire avant tout c'est de ne plus se trouver en contact avec une Puissance rivale toujours prête à la défier.

Le Parlement Anglais vient de passer une loi qui réunit les différentes provinces du Canada en une confédération gouvernée par un Vice-Roi. L'objet que l'Angleterre a eu en vue était de consolider ses colonies de l'Amérique du Nord et d'en faire un Etat assez fort et assez compact pour devenir indépendant. Il le serait aujourd'hui si les Canadiens le voulaient, mais ces derniers préférèrent pour le moment être défendus et protégés par l'Angleterre. Toutefois la séparation aura lieu d'une manière ou d'autre dans un avenir très proche.

Nous aurions été la seule des Puissances Européennes à posséder des colonies sur ce continent. Mais si l'Espagne, la France, le Portugal et même l'Angleterre ont dû perdre ou céder leurs colonies sans retirer aucun avantage, pouvions nous espérer d'être plus heureux? Pouvions-nous attendre un meilleur avenir de ce territoire qui, pendant près d'un siècle, n'a rien rapporté à la Russie que des embarras et des sacrifices pécuniaires? Était-il de notre intérêt, pour conserver ces côtes inhospitalières, de perdre nos bonnes relations et de risquer même des complications sérieuses avec une grande nation devant laquelle s'inclinent l'Angleterre et la France, ces deux grandes Puissances maritimes? Je laisse à la presse, qui attaque le traité de cession, le soin de répondre à ces questions.

Loin d'ajouter à notre importance politique, le vaste territoire, que nous possédions dans ces mers, faisait notre faiblesse. Nos côtes commençaient du Japon, longeaient l'Asie Septentrionale jusqu'au détroit de Behring et suivaient de ce point le littoral Américain jusqu'au cinquante-quatrième degré de longitude Nord, sur plusieurs milliers de milles de longueur. Était-il possible de garder des côtes aussi étendues, éloignées, surtout comme elles sont, du centre de l'Empire?

C'est dans les contrées de l'Amour et surtout dans les provinces, situées au Sud de ce fleuve, que nous devons concentrer nos moyens et notre énergie. Ces pays sont fertiles et attireront facilement l'émigration. Ils ont des ports magnifiques et le voisinage du Japon et de la Chine leur assure un commerce avantageux. C'est là que doit être fondée notre puissance dans le Pacifique.

Contigües comme ces provinces sont à l'Empire, elles deviennent par cela même plus faciles à défendre. Pendant la guerre de Crimée, les alliés n'ont pas inquiété nos côtes Asiatiques et l'attaque qu'ils ont faite à Kamtchatka a été repoussée par l'Amiral Zavoïko, de manière à leur ôter l'envie de revenir, tandis que nos colonies étaient à la merci de l'ennemi. Elles n'ont été sauvées que par une circonstance fortuite. L'Angleterre les a déclarées territoire neutre, par crainte que nous ne les cédions aux Etats-Unis.

Parmi les obligations du poste que j'ai eu l'honneur d'occuper si longtemps, une des plus importantes était de soigner les intérêts de nos possessions Américaines. J'y ai voué toute mon attention. Il m'a été impossible de ne pas voir que les efforts de la compagnie étaient infructueux, que l'avenir de ce pays était stérile et que, menacées par le voisinage des Américains, nos possessions devaient nous entraîner dans des contestations sérieuses avec le Gouv.t. Fédéral et finit par devenir la proie des Américains. En rendant compte au Gouvernement Impérial, de l'état de nos colonies, j'ai toujours exposé consciencieusement la vérité et toute la vérité. Si j'ai participé par cela à la cession de nos colonies, je suis prêt à prendre ma part de responsabilité avec une pleine confiance d'avoir rempli les devoirs d'un digne¹⁵ sujet de notre Auguste Maître et d'avoir agi dans les vrais intérêts de mon pays.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur le Chancelier, avec la plus haute considération,
de Votre Excellence,
le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Stoeckl

A Son Excellence Mr. le P-ce Gortchacow.

IV

Washington, le Juillet 1867.

Mon cher Monsieur Westman,

Mille et mille remerciements pour Votre tems du Juin et les choses aimables que vous avez bien voulu me dire. Mon traité a rencontré¹⁶ une assez forte opposition, à ce que j'apprends, mais cela provient de ce que personne chez nous n'avait une idée juste sur l'état de nos colonies. Il s'agissait de les vendre ou de nous les voir enlever. Là était toute la question. Je vous envoie aujourd'hui un petit mémoire à ce sujet: en otant plusieurs passages qu'on ne peut pas publier on parviendra peut être à faire un ou deux articles de journaux qui serviront à éclaircir l'opinion publique.

Quand à ma récompense pécuniaire¹⁷ je pense qu'on aurait pu être plus généreux, si l'on considère que j'ai obtenu plus que le maximum qui m'avait été fixé et que pour mener cette affaire j'ai perdu une place en Europe et Dieu sait si j'aurai une autre chance. Mais c'est toujours quelque chose et cela me rapproche de l'époque où je pourrai jouir d'une modeste indépendance, le comble de mes vœux.

Je finirai tous les détails de cette affaire le printemps prochain et j'espère avoir alors le plaisir de vous revoir car quoiqu'il advienne, je suis plus que jamais décidé à dire un éternel adieu à l'Amérique le printemps ou au pard¹⁸ l'été prochain.

Veuillez me rappeler au bon souvenir de Madame de Westman et agréer les sentimens sincères de mon profond attachement.

Stoeckl

¹⁵ So in the source.

¹⁶ In the source, *remonté*.

¹⁷ For his services in the negotiation of the Alaska Treaty there had been granted to Stoeckl the sum of 25,000 silver rubles, equivalent to about \$19,000 gold.

¹⁸ So in the source.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

A STUDY OF WAR. By *Quincy Wright*, Professor of International Law, the University of Chicago. Two volumes. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xxiii, 678; xvii, 679-1552. \$15.00.)

THIS book, of two large volumes and a total of 1,552 pages, with the appendixes, containing graphs, maps, statistical tables, alone running to nearly five hundred pages, should be looked upon as of the nature of an encyclopedia. It has involved sixteen years of labor by a number of men working at the University of Chicago under the direction of Professor Quincy Wright. The book is likely to prove quite indispensable to students of war for some considerable time to come; but it is not the kind of book which the non-specialist layman would find useful for reading straight through, beginning at the beginning and ending at the end. Such a method, applied to this book, would probably lead to the same sort of confusion of mind which would result from an attempt to read through the Encyclopedia Britannica from A to Z.

This is not intended as disparagement of the value of the book but as indication of the way in which it can find its greatest usefulness. As the publisher's notice tells us, the study draws upon an immense variety of sources in law, economics, political science, anthropology, sociology, social science, and history, while poetry and literature, reflecting public attitudes toward war, are also used. Covering a field as vast as this, its greatest utility will be as a means whereby the student of war can find a ready answer to questions which will arise in his mind. The student with a working hypothesis of the cause and cure of war (and unless he has some such working hypothesis as a guide to what he wants to know he is likely to get lost in the forest of facts) can go to a book of this kind as a means of putting his hypothesis to the test of fact. Failing some such approach, some such method of using the book, only confusion probably would result from attempting to swallow it whole. As Francis Bacon once put it: "Truth comes out of error more easily than out of confusion." Henry Huxley, quoting that aphorism to his students, urged them always to have a theory of how things worked. It might, he admitted, be a false theory, but in that case, if they kept their minds open, they would knock their heads and their theories against a fact. Here is ammunition for knocking over many a false theory.

A book of this kind inevitably suggests the question: How is the store of learning here accumulated to be made available to that big public which will ultimately have the last word on measures to be taken against war? How can these facts reach the sort of public which idolized the Wilsonian philosophy and

then suddenly rejected it; which in Europe, after the last war, clamored for peace and at the same time clamored for policies certain ultimately to make peace impossible? In process of time, of course, the professors of political science studying this book will pass some of its essence on to their students; the more conscientious of editorial writers and columnists will (let us hope) pass some of it on to their readers; a few in the clergy, taking seriously their job of understanding problems of their time which are also moral problems, will also (let us hope) pass on some of it to their congregations. But unhappily in the process of time even much of this book will be out of date. At the beginning of chapter xxxix, on "The Prevention of War," there is a very important conclusion and generalization: "Policies directed toward a military balance of power, toward political and economic isolation of great powers, or toward conquest of all by one, give no promise of stability in the modern world. Policies directed toward these objectives are more likely to contribute to war than to prevent it." The final chapter, "Toward a Warless World," does in some measure summarize the results of the study as a whole, and a phrase in this last chapter reveals that the author realizes the need of reaching the large public. For he there points out (p. 1349) that statesmen who failed in the decade preceding this war to take the measures which might have prevented it could not in many instances do otherwise. "They were bound to put the conception of national welfare held by the less literate masses of their populations ahead of any conception of world welfare which they or the general opinion of the literate from all countries might have held." The most immediate task is still perhaps with "the less literate."

New York City

NORMAN ANGELL

STUDIES IN CIVILIZATION. By *Alan J. B. Wace et al.* [University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1941. Pp. vi, 200. \$2.00.)

OF these essays by fourteen American and foreign historical and literary scholars who participated in the recent Bicentennial Conference of the University of Pennsylvania, four deal with classical culture; four with medieval; three with modern European; and three with American.

Alan J. B. Wace's "The Mycenaean Civilization" is the best summary of the founding of urban culture on the European mainland known to this reviewer. Otto E. Neugebauer describes the fusion of Greek mathematics and Babylonian astronomy that produced the Hellenistic conceptions of the universe. William S. Ferguson discusses conventionally the diversity of Greek thought. A. E. R. Boak observes, rightfully, that Roman law was the achievement of scholars, not of lawyers as contemporary Americans know them.

It is interesting to note that the scholars who treat of medieval and modern European culture find that what the contemporary age requires the Middle Ages possessed or that what is good in modern development was also a medieval pos-

session. E. K. Rand praises the medieval "unshackled mind," which, he finds, expressed itself mainly in allegory; J. H. Randall criticizes moderns for failing to understand "the toughness of intellectual tradition" and also for forgetting that "Reason supplies no premises of its own." A. C. Howland describes a community responsibility as the chief institutional element of the medieval polity; Charles I. McIlwain finds England's achievement of responsible government to have sprung from the national community organized by William I. Charles G. Osgood and William J. Entwistle deplore the loss of unity between learning, science, and poetry; Carlton J. H. Hayes, after deploring modern political developments, exhorts his readers to cultivate literature and the arts but, let it be emphasized, not without the benefit of "right philosophy and psychology" and "right religion."

Arthur M. Schlesinger exhibits but does not illuminate the obvious fact that the American people have never known cultural isolation. Charles Cestre and Stanley T. Williams, although presenting the same theme, agree that the United States has achieved literary independence.

On the whole, there is little that is new in the essays, although for one who, confronted with the present condition of Western culture, feels the need of new understanding, there is much that is stimulating. The obvious gap in the volume is an interpretation of the formation of the Christian cultural tradition. The problems of cultural development now requiring attention which the essays bear upon but for which certainly they offer no solutions are, first, "What are the unifying factors in the European cultural tradition?" and, second, "What are the distinctive cultural achievements of the American people?"

Washington, D. C.

RALPH TURNER

PERMANENT REVOLUTION: THE TOTAL STATE IN A WORLD AT WAR. By *Sigmund Neumann*, Associate Professor of Government and Social Science, Wesleyan University. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1942. Pp. xviii, 388. \$3.00.)

AMONG the many important books on the origins and meaning of contemporary dictatorship the new book by Professor Neumann occupies a special position. It approaches the problems not from their historical and ideological foundations, though these aspects are in no way neglected, but from the structural framework which distinguishes modern dictatorship from the nineteenth century state. Six chapters deal with the personnel of the new state and the function and relation of its different organs. Attention is paid not only to the leader and to the amorphous masses but also to the rarely discussed figure of "the political lieutenant," whom the author calls the forgotten man. Much interesting material and pertinent observations add to our knowledge of the composite structure of the new elite. Leader, elite, and masses are held together by the institutional frame of the one-party state with its bureaucracy, its economics of the garrison state, its armed forces, its terror, and its control of the masses by education and propaganda.

The last two chapters of the book accentuate the preceding analysis of the meaning and implications of modern dictatorship by discussing the impact of permanent war. Modern totalitarianism is "always on the march that never ends, incessantly at war with a world that it can not possess." Thence its unending dynamism, its character of "permanent revolution," which of course would stop and bring about a permanent situation in which any and every revolution would be excluded, at the very moment when the dynamism would reach its totalitarian goal: world control. For the permanent revolution stands really in the service of the definite abolition of revolution, of historical progress and development. It is not without importance to point out the differences among dictatorships. Though all totalitarian dictatorship contains a dynamic substance, nevertheless, communism and Italian fascism have preserved a number of more "conservative" trends, elements of the intellectual structure and heritage of Europe. It is only German National Socialism which is the permanent revolution in all its purity, a "revolution of nihilism," and therefore a threat incomparably greater than other dictatorships. Though there are great structural similarities among all the totalitarian dictatorships, nevertheless, as Professor Neumann rightly points out, the different "modern autocracies are worlds apart from one another. They have their distinct national climate, they arise from a specific historical background." The present book is more devoted to the analysis of their affinities than to a stress of their differences. Yet it clearly recognizes that German "National Socialism is the great revolt against the West and against all that historic Europe stands for." The return to a pre-Christian and pre-Socratic primitive barbarism was not a whim of the National Socialist leaders; "it also brought out deep seated traditions still alive in the German people, forces present in no other civilized European nation." These excellent remarks which throw a clear light on the real nature of National Socialism and its roots could have been usefully expanded.

The book ends with a clear challenge to the democracies to rise to the needs of the decisive struggle for the basis of human existence: individual responsibility. "It is an inalienable right. Dictators attack it. They must be defied. No compromise is possible because this personal responsibility is the fountain of life. Nobody shall take it away from us, for on this responsibility rests the pride and dignity of man." A very useful bibliography of more than sixty pages will be most welcome to the reader of this stimulating study of modern dictatorship.

Smith College

HANS KOHN

THE PRINCIPLES OF POWER: THE GREAT POLITICAL CRISES OF HISTORY. By *Guglielmo Ferrero*. Translated by *Theodore R. Jaeckel*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1942. Pp. ix, 333. \$3.50.)

The Principles of Power, originally published in New York in French as *Pouvoir: les génies invisibles de la cité*, only a few months before this translation, is the last volume of a trilogy in which the late Professor Ferrero tries to solve

what he thinks is the central problem confronting the modern world: the preservation of order within the state. The first volume, *The Gamble* (1936), dealt with Napoleon's effort to set up a supranational state founded on force; the second, *Reconstruction* (1941), dealt with the Congress of Vienna and the attempt to re-establish political legitimacy; this third volume is a summary of the other two and an extension of Professor Ferrero's central thesis down to the present crisis.

Briefly, Professor Ferrero's argument runs as follows: Order, obedience to authority, acceptance of some degree of status are essential to civilization. The revolutions culminating in 1789-94 broke down in the Western world the "silken threads" of custom, the non-rational conditioned reflexes, the "invisible genii of the city," which had preserved this order. Order was re-established only by the "iron chains" of dictatorship or by the compromisist pseudo-legitimacy of such governments as that of Louis Philippe in France. In spite of the insight and efforts of Talleyrand, real legitimacy was never achieved, except perhaps a form of democratic legitimacy in the United States and Great Britain. In the rest of our world, the old monarchical legitimacy and the new democratic legitimacy struggled for domination, but there emerged only dictatorships—Bonaparte, Mussolini, Hitler—or "Philippist" compromises like the kingdom of Italy before Mussolini. Professor Ferrero hopes for a world-wide achievement of democratic legitimacy as a result of this war. But legitimacy of some sort we must have, he says, or face the alternatives of perpetual chaos or rule by irresponsible force.

Professor Ferrero's analysis is in some ways oversimple. Notably, it does not pay enough attention to economic problems, nor to the prospect that even the most legitimately governed national state might be internationally aggressive. Moreover, in this as in most of his works, Professor Ferrero displays to the full those traits that so long kept him at feud with most of the historical profession. To the last, as in this volume, he was careless and incomplete in his references to his sources. He was diffuse, prophetic, argumentative, emotional. Above all, he was obsessed with his own uniqueness and originality. No one, save Talleyrand in a brief passage in his *Memoirs*, says Professor Ferrero, ever had these notions about the role of legitimacy. Professor Ferrero could not find in the European tradition in history, politics, law, philosophy, religion, the principles of legitimacy. He did not even suspect their existence until he was forty-seven. He could, of course, have found a great deal about the political phenomena he calls legitimacy in any number of writers, from Aristotle through St. Thomas Aquinas and Burke to his own countryman Pareto. He would not have found the exact terminology he himself lighted upon; but even in the more innocent social sciences a new terminology is not automatically assumed to bring with it genuine invention and discovery.

It is too bad that Professor Ferrero and the professional historians found no common ground. The quarrel certainly injured Professor Ferrero, as it confirmed him in his grievances, his sense of mission, his obsession of absolute originality. Yet with all his faults, and their aggravation in this trilogy, he had something to

say to us. He had what are sometimes loosely called "ideas"—that is, he tried to generalize beyond the level of mere narration; and his generalizations are based on an awareness of the importance of emotions and habits in the lives of human beings. To those of us who have been carried away from the study of such human beings to the study of economic systems, abstract ideas, rational reforms, diplomatic interchanges, Professor Ferrero's latest work may suggest the usefulness of getting ourselves straight about some of the simpler problems of political psychology.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

THE JESUITS IN HISTORY: THE SOCIETY OF JESUS THROUGH FOUR CENTURIES. By *Martin P. Harney*, S. J., Professor of the History of the Reformation, Boston College. (New York: America Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 513. \$4.00.)

It is a proud story that Father Harney has to tell, and he tells it proudly. From the "heroic age" of Loyola's companions to the present great development of Jesuit educational activity the history of the Society of Jesus is studded with the remarkable achievements of able and devoted men. The story, here recounted for a popular audience, yet with sound scholarship, will stir the hearts of good Catholics and command a new respect for the order from those of other faiths or none. The Jesuits have been a factor of no small significance in the shaping of modern history; certainly one that cannot be ignored by any historian of whatever faith. It is well that we should hear the best that can be told of them. We have heard the worst often enough. For, as Father Harney notes repeatedly, the Jesuits, despite their great achievements, have been at times the most cordially hated and most widely vilified of all the Catholic orders. Every religious order has had its popular legend, which, like most popular legends, does not accord too closely with the facts. The Jesuits have been peculiarly unfortunate in possessing two legends, that created by their enemies being by far the less reliable of the two. And it is the existence of this vast body of calumny that we must blame for the controversial note that pervades portions of this book and tends to mar a work that is otherwise in the best tradition of Catholic scholarship.

As has happened all too often in the history of religious controversy, the legitimate desire to defend his order from unfair criticism has at times led Father Harney to a depreciation of its opponents scarcely less unfair. This is particularly noticeable in the whole tone of his discussion of the Jansenist controversy. It is especially unfortunate here, for if the Jansenists were among the most dangerous enemies of the order, they were also among the most respectable. At least their opposition cannot be explained away as mere hatred of Catholicism and hence of the Jesuits as its most effective champions. Their criticism of the Jesuit doctrine of probabilism and the practice of casuistry was based on moral principles with which the author may not be expected to agree but to which he might accord a

greater respect. Even within the Society of Jesus the doctrine of probabilism was not always accepted without question (*cf.* p. 260 f.).

The most fortunate part of Father Harney's work is undoubtedly that which deals with the founding of the order and its early history. Here the story flows clearly, and the apologetic tone is almost entirely absent. Yet the chapters dealing with the suppression may be of more general interest, since it is a story less well known in detail. Father Harney handles it ably and with careful verification of his facts. Nevertheless, it remains one of the less satisfactory portions of the book, leaving the reader with the unhappy feeling that there must have been more potent motives for the suppression of so powerful and successful an order than are recounted here.

New York University

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

A HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT. By *Eric Roll*, Professor of Economics and Commerce in the University College of Hull. Revised and enlarged. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1942. Pp. xii, 585. \$4.00.)

ROLL's book is so clearly biased that any review which is not perfunctory must note this fact at the outset. First, there is a strong interventionist bias. Second, the intervention is to be not by a "neutral" state but by one founded on the "political philosophy" of Karl Marx. In fact, the book is an elaborate and none too subtle defense of Marx *as an economist*, with a tendency to belittle all economists whose thought seems to be essentially opposed. "Classicists" (whom he consistently treats as advocates of "capitalism") are regarded as out because of their laissez-faire tendencies and the downfall of the alleged reason for their existence, capitalism. Non-Marxist critics of classicism are either affected by an inadequate political philosophy or fail to meet the requirements of a "revived political economy" (Veblen).

The book is avowedly "based upon a belief in the ultimate determination of economic theory by the economic structure" (p. 406), which seems to be a kind of materialistic interpretation of history. While the author admits difficulties in handling "the last few decades" on this basis (p. 504), he finds no difficulty in tracing the rise of socialism chiefly to the rise of the labor class (pp. 249-51). Accordingly, he leaves out St. Simon, Fourier, and Owen (as having little influence on economics), but drags in Sismondi and Proudhon (not socialists), and devotes too much space to such minor socialists as Thompson, Gray, Bray, and Hodgskin. Incidentally, Comte is omitted and Rodbertus barely mentioned.

The criterion of choice among "economists" for treatment is said to lie in their influence on the present. Evidently this is to justify the 10 per cent of available space that is given to Marx in *the only chapter entirely devoted to a single name*. That such a basis is no adequate test of historical importance is seen in the use of other criteria, as expediency dictates. Thus some are included because of being "original thinkers"; others as being typical of some "major new development"; others still as being "peculiarly American" (pp. 458-59)!

The only chapter on economics, in a given nation, deals with America. It is called "The American Contribution"; but in it, after saying that Benjamin Franklin "does not rank very high as an original thinker," playing down F. A. Walker, and ridiculing Henry George as an unoriginal "petty-bourgeois" missionary, Roll suggests that J. B. Clark's marginal productivity theory did achieve "special fame, or notoriety [*sic*], because of the way in which it was formulated" (p. 473).

Passing over some mistreatment of the Physiocrats, however, and the misleading reference to Adam Smith as a "later" economist who built on them, I note the following characteristic error:

Roll says that classical economics is mostly English, because England led the development of capitalism. He then states that "it is not surprising, therefore, that the relative importance of English economic thought should decline once England ceased to be the only important capitalist country." Finally, he tells us that the emergence of the United States as a leading capitalist country naturally [*sic*] coincided with a "very considerable increase of American theoretical activity." None of these statements can be demonstrated to be strictly true. The second is inconsistent with the first. As to the third, why (if it has meaning) hasn't American thought been increasingly "classical"?

Roll finds that Keynes's general tendency is somewhat like Marx's and that it is an advance on the "barren doctrines" of non-Marxian theory; but he concludes that it has possibilities either for "good" or for "evil" and therefore falls far short of "requirements" (p. 542). (This seems to leave Marx with the crown.) The book is not for students who lack well-developed critical capacities.

At points, even signs of disingenuousness appear. Nearly a page is injected for discussing the suggestion that the marginal-utility school may be explained by the rise of a *rentier* (coupon-clipping) class having no part in production. Then it is gravely concluded that this explanation must be regarded as incomplete (pp. 405-06)!

The book has its good points. On the whole, it is well written. There is some keen analysis, as of J. M. Keynes's theory. A number of historical transitions are suggestively handled, as in the case of the position of Hobbes and Locke as leading to classical economics. Ample justice is done to Cantillon and to Gossen. Being recent, the book is able to touch upon the latest tendencies. When all is said, one cannot have confidence in such a treatment of "history."

New York City

LEWIS H. HANEY

THE ROOTS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM. By *Rohan D'O. Butler*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1942. Pp. 304. \$3.00.)

THIS is a challenging book. The author illuminatingly portrays how the National Socialist regime is the culmination of a century and a half of German political and social philosophy. The first six of the seven chapters present a compact but comprehensive account of the fundamental principles advocated by the

Prussian and non-Prussian political philosophers, romanticists, historians, poets, economists, Germanists, and military strategists since the time of Frederick the Great. The last chapter, entitled "Foreground," indicates clearly that the determining frame of ideas of the Hitlerian regime is the culmination and putting into practice of the German, but especially Prussian, thinking of the past 150 years. From Fichte and Hegel to Spengler and Moeller van der Bruck there had been expressed ideas of exaltation of the leader, anti-Semitism, extravagant laudation of the German people, the supernational mission of German culture, a virile devotion to statism, militarism, the principle that might is the supreme right. There was many a writer who denounced reason and stressed the dominant right of the superior German *Volk*.

The author depicts how these ideas, expressed by previous writers, were put into devastating effect by the National Socialists, by Hitler and his close associates, who possessed the needed personality and confidence in their mission, whereas their opponents lacked these personal qualities. It is also explained how a worldwide economic depression and lack of power to act by the democracies and the league afforded a favorable opportunity for the daring adventure of the Nazis.

Mr. Butler might be criticized for dealing inadequately with the ideas and movements of the German liberals who fought a losing fight against the Prussianism that ended in National Socialism. One might also wish that, instead of closing with a speculation on whether the German people will ever "see the light again," the author had given an estimate (1) of how significant for the future would be the spirit of social reform of the Social Democrats, (2) of the democratic Weimar spirit if given proper support by the democratic foreign powers, (3) of the importance of Hitler's needing to keep thousands of anti-Nazis in concentration camps, (4) of the possible service of returned exiles in postwar times in building a liberal Germany, (5) of the future moral worth of the courageous resistance of Niemöller, Cardinal Faulhaber, and Graf von Galen to Hitler's anti-Christian philosophy. But Mr. Butler may be absolved. His task was to describe the roots of National Socialism and not the future means of eradicating those roots and their baneful fruits.

Typographical errors abound, owing not to the author but probably to the staff of the publisher of the American edition. On pages 155 and 180 footnotes are indicated in the text but are not supplied. On page 261 a footnote appears but no figure is found in the text. The reader would have been grateful for an index.

University of Colorado

C. C. ECKHARDT

GEOPOLITIK: DOCTRINE OF NATIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND EMPIRE. By *Johannes Mattern*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LX, Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. 139. Cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.)

THIS little book is really a thought-provoking and stimulating tract for the times rather than a scientific analysis of *Geopolitik*. Specialists in history or

geography do not need to be told that most concepts advanced today as *Geopolitiik* are old in fact if not in name; that Haushofer is not the originator of the idea, though he may have coined the name; that Ratzel and Kjellen are certainly his predecessors. The book gives an all too brief summary of the origin of the idea now called *Geopolitiik*, devoted chiefly to the nineteenth century, with one chapter on Humboldt, Ritter, and Ratzel and three on Kjellen. These form the major part of the book. Haushofer and the modern German school are not given separate treatment. The last two chapters are perhaps the most interesting and provocative. The author states the case of the "Haves" as against the "Have-nots" very clearly and asks what shall be done about the problem at the peace, for victory will not solve it at all. The "Have-nots" are attempting by war to reorganize the world and to redistribute its raw materials, now chiefly held by the British Empire, the United States, and the Dutch. The "Haves" propose to win the war and to retain possession of the raw materials after victory. The author fears that will merely lead to future wars and feels that something must be done about it. He confesses his inability to suggest an adequate solution. While much of importance is treated too briefly to be understood except by specialists, and the titles of the books of various authors, filling page after page, are certainly not needed by specialists, much that is really illuminating on *Geopolitiik* is developed. Mr. Mattern shows that there really is an idea behind it which will be useful to scholarship and perhaps to statesmen—the interrelation between geography, geology, biology, and the social sciences. True, everyone had always known that such an interrelation existed, but no formal attempt had been made to develop it as it can and should be. But the author makes it clear that Kjellen (who was pro-German) and Haushofer have not created any science of *Geopolitiik* or attempted any truly scientific study. Their *Geopolitiik* is a case of special pleading which gives a pseudoscientific basis to the Axis policies of national self-sufficiency and this aggressive war for empire and control of the world. It is neither geography nor history nor science but politics.

Washington University

ROLAND G. USHER

MODERN WORLD POLITICS. By *Thorsten V. Kalijarvi*, University of New Hampshire, and Associates. Maps by Clifford H. MacFadden. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1942. Pp. 843. \$5.00.)

Modern World Politics, by Thorsten V. Kalijarvi and associates, is a brave attempt to produce a useful, up-to-the-minute text on international relations. While this is obviously impossible so far as concerns current events, the authors have taken into account the profound changes which global war has naturally produced in the context and methods of contemporary teaching of international relations.

The text is divided into four distinct though interrelated parts. Part I, entitled "Fundamentals of International Relations," contains chapters dealing with such general subjects as world geography and economics, international law and diplomacy, and historical survey of world organizations. Part II, which comes

under the head of "Techniques for the Struggle for Power," makes some happy additions to the usual run of treatment by including chapters on the press, psychological warfare, and the art of generalship.

Part III, which bears the happy title of "The Great Regions in World Politics," opens with a brief historical background of the present war in an introductory chapter by Harry Elmer Barnes, entitled "From the First World War to the Second World War." This is followed by chapters on the British Empire, Europe, the U.S.S.R. and Asia, Africa and the Arab lands, United States and Latin America, and Japan and China, which is obviously a big field to be covered in two hundred pages. For introductory purposes it is quite adequate, provided the supplementary reading suggested is used for the purposes of course work.

Part IV, entitled "Recent Trends in International Relations," carries still further the attempt to put new ideas and subject into the contents of the usual run of textbooks on world politics. Such topics as social revolution, modern technology in war, totalitarianism, fifth columns, espionage, secret societies, and geopolitics come in for consideration. It is too bad that the author of the chapter on the "New Pseudoscience of Geopolitics," Joseph S. Roucek, could not have profited from a study of the fundamentally important work of Professor N. J. Spykman, "America's Strategy in World Politics," which appeared after the chapter was written.

While there are always weaknesses in any co-operative work in which a dozen or more authors contribute chapters, it must be said that Professor Kalijarvi's careful editing has served to draw together with considerable skill the varied approaches to the general subject.

There are altogether twenty-seven maps in the book, most of which are well drawn, though the raw material maps could have been considerably improved upon as well as those illustrating the strategic problems of global war. The series of questions and carefully chosen bibliographies at the close of each chapter are another happy addition for textbook purposes.

Cleveland, Ohio

BROOKS EMENY

Ancient and Medieval History

HORUS, ROYAL GOD OF EGYPT. By *Samuel A. B. Mercer*, Professor of Semitic Languages and Egyptology, Trinity College in the University of Toronto. (Grafton: Society of Oriental Research. 1942. Pp. xx, 231. \$3.80.)

WE have here a very learned and ingenious commentary on early Egyptian history. The first three chapters deal at some length with the predynastic period in Egypt, and the author surveys a great deal of archaeological information. The origin of the god Horus, he thinks, is to be found in the broken and tangled skeins of archaeological finds and elaborate hypothesis that form our body of

knowledge for this early period. Breasted reduced the union of Egypt under Menes to the rank of a "second union" and it has now been made the "third." Before this union, during the predynastic period, there were two earlier unions, the second of which gave rise to the prominent myth of the bloody encounter between Horus and Set. This struggle, Mercer thinks, represents a historic event. Before this time, during the period of the "second civilization," Horus had come to Egypt, probably from Mesopotamia (or perhaps from the Hurrians to the north and west), and had settled in the Egyptian Delta. Appropriating, or mingling with, some earlier deity there, the cult of this sky-god soon spread throughout the Delta and then over Egypt after his victory over Set, the deity of Ombos.

This is an interesting construction of early Egyptian history. Along with the main theme, Mercer deals boldly with several other controversial problems. He favors the view that the inauguration of the calendar was marked not by the Sothic cycle that began in 4241 but by the one which began in 2781, and that it was made at Memphis, not at Heliopolis. He contends (p. 59) that the god Osiris was a deified hero who had probably been leader of an invading tribe. He accepts and carries further, I believe, a suggestion of Albright's, when he suggests that the rider-god Heron of Egypt, identified by Rostovtzeff and Kazarow with a Thracian rider, was probably an old deity of Syria, known in a Canaanite form and possibly, like Horus, connected with the Hurrians.

All this is striking and ingenious interpretation, but, naturally, evidence is lacking to make these suggestions more than hypothesis. There is little more that one can do with much of this material than to point out the possible and probable lines of contact, transmission, and influence.

The material in the remaining chapters is largely factual, and it is a welcome collection of facts and data from many difficult sources. In these chapters material is collected on the name, family, titles, and symbols of Horus, Horus gods, gods identified and gods associated with Horus, the eye of Horus, places where Horus was worshiped, representations of Horus, and the theology and worship of Horus. There is an appendix containing epithets of Horus, one of person names in which the name of Horus appears, and a plate of hieroglyphics to serve chapters iv-vi. There is an adequate index.

It is quite unkind, perhaps, in case of such a monument of labor as this, to pick flaws, yet only by such means may one test the reception of such a work. To this reviewer, it seemed that there were several statements concerning the Hellenistic cult of the Egyptian gods with which it would be difficult to agree. "With Isis the Egyptian god most generally worshiped was Osiris, rather than Serapis, and Harpocrates as a child-god. And although the triad Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates, was not officially recognized by the Roman state, the three deities were extensively worshipped" (p. 163). Unless, by "Osiris," Mercer means "Serapis," the statement is certainly not in accord with the information in the inscriptions—

and Serapis, whatever his origin, was *not* Osiris. Since the author says "rather than Serapis," the only justification for the statement is in the literary works, especially Plutarch, whose approach is almost entirely theological and mythological, not descriptive and historical. Again (p. 196): "The identification of the triad Osiris, Isis, and Horus with Dionysos, Demeter, and Apollo seems to have taken place as early as the Fifth Century B. C. And these three, together with Anubis, were universally adopted by the Hellenic population." The statement is much too strong and unqualified. Moreover, the identification is, so far as our information goes, almost entirely literary and leaves hardly a trace in the non-literary materials. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the acceptance of this literary syncretism as a picture of the actual worship finds little support in the papyri and inscriptions.

The above criticisms indicate chiefly an approach to the whole problem of the Hellenistic cult quite at variance with that taken by the author of the work under review. But this book is distinctly a solid piece of scholarship and a credit to American Egyptology.

University of Missouri

THOMAS A. BRADY

THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS. By *Vincent M. Scramuzza*, Associate Professor of History, Smith College. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume XLIV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. 328. \$3.75.)

BIOGRAPHIES of Roman *principes* of the first century are very popular with modern students of ancient history. Augustus has the lion's share. Then come Tiberius, Claudius, Caligula, and Nero. It is only natural that these early Roman "emperors" attract so much attention. The problems connected with their rules and personalities are fascinating. It is exciting to understand fully the genesis and to follow the development of the Roman "princiate," a new, in its essence monarchical, form of political organization, disguised as the continuation of the ancient Roman republic. First devised and developed by Augustus, the Roman principate after his death proved to be not a passing phase in the evolution of Rome but a stable form of constitution which had before it more than two centuries of peaceful life and development. Was it due to its essence, to its popularity with the masses, to its superiority in comparison with the senatorial rule, regardless of the personalities of Augustus' successors? Or was the consolidation of the principate due not only to the genius of Augustus, who laid its lasting foundations, but also to the conscious and intelligent efforts of able and efficient successors, who are represented by Tacitus, Suetonius, Cassius Dio, our chief sources for this period, as "tyrants," "knaves," and "fools"? The opinions of modern scholars on this subject are divided. Some are inclined to regard the wonderful, unforgettable pictures of the Julio-Claudian emperors drawn by Tacitus as exact and true; others emphatically reject the Tacitean portraits as biased and distorted, and give a new and independent interpretation of the early Roman emperors based on their performance and on the general conditions of the Roman Empire under their

rule, acts and conditions which are disclosed by our rapidly increasing documentary evidence—inscriptions, papyri, coins, archaeological monuments.

Scramuzza's book belongs to the second class. He defines the problem before him and his approach to it in a few words in his preface:

The Emperor Claudius is one of the most perplexing problems in Roman history. His own utterances which have been transmitted to us in stone, bronze or papyrus, few though they are, show that he possessed sound practical judgment and no little political wisdom. . . . Despite these facts the cumulative judgment of antiquity agrees in portraying him as a fool and a baneful influence on the development of the Empire.

This contradiction between facts, and "the judgment tradition has given of the fourth Emperor," has challenged the author "to a fresh inquiry into the whole problem of his personality and achievements."

The result of Scramuzza's inquiry is the book under review. It contains a careful survey of all the available material concerning Emperor Claudius, literary, epigraphical, papyrological, numismatic, and to a certain extent archaeological, divided into eleven chapters, each one supported by abundant and excellent notes, chapters which deal with the most important aspects of the problem before the author, that is, the personal role of Claudius in the development of the principate under his rule.

The general conclusions which emerge from the detailed study of the author are easy to guess. Claudius, in the opinion of Scramuzza, was one of the best rulers Rome ever had. His policy was conservative, a continuation as it were of the policy of Augustus, but not too conservative nor too traditional. He understood well the needs of the Roman Empire and knew how to deal soundly and efficiently with the problems which faced him. "His administration was enlightened in domestic affairs. In the foreign field he solved with dignity the main problems inherited from his predecessors. He endowed the Principate with those policies which, continued by Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian, made it more efficient and more humane."

The point of view of Scramuzza is not new. Several scholars before him had insisted on the positive achievements of Claudius and had inferred from them the keenness, intellect, honesty, and justice of—"the most ridiculous of Roman emperors." It is a pity that the author has not given a survey of the Claudian problem in modern historiography. Had he done so he would certainly have acknowledged his indebtedness for his leading ideas to such scholars as Bell, Stroux, Momigliano. The writer of this review must dissent from the author's point of view as regards Claudius' relations to his freedmen and his wives. He regrets that little attention was paid by Scramuzza to the situation of some Roman provinces under the rule of Claudius which was not so rosy as the author presents it (I mean, for example, Egypt, whose wretched plight is illuminated by several documents not mentioned in the book under review). He would insist on a more

detailed analysis of the problem of franchise in the light of much new evidence discovered in the provinces and especially in Greece; he doubts that Claudius ever had an economic policy, etc. Substantial discussion of these and other points of disagreement is, however, out of place in this short review.

However, though not new the presentation of the problem by Scramuzza is certainly the fullest and the most detailed that now exists. Even if not in full agreement with the author in his appreciation of Claudius, all students of the Roman Empire and the writer of this review must be grateful to him for presenting not a sketchy survey or partial aspects of the rule of Claudius but a full picture of it.

Yale University

M. I. ROSTOVITZ

THE ABBEY OF ST.-DENIS, 475-1122. Volume I. By *Sumner McKnight Crosby*, Assistant Professor of the History of Art, Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor, History of Art, III.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 211. \$7.00.)

THIS volume on the early history of the Abbey of St.-Denis is an important contribution to our knowledge of early medieval church architecture. Among all the monuments of Christian architecture in France, St.-Denis holds, of course, a particularly important place both because of its long and close connection with the French monarchy and because, through successive building and rebuilding, it constitutes a kind of epitome of French architecture for many different periods and styles.

The present volume is but the first of a series of three which Mr. Crosby plans to devote to the Abbey church and its history, and covers only the period from about 475 to 1122, the year in which the famous Suger was elected abbot. The rebuilding of the Abbey church by Suger is to be discussed in the second volume, while the third will be devoted to the thirteenth century rebuilding of Suger's church.

In this first volume, after briefly summarizing the whole history of the Abbey, Mr. Crosby investigates at some length the highly controversial legends relating to the patron saint of the Abbey. Following this, he discusses from literary evidence the nature of the architecture of the first church. This was erected at the scene of the martyrdom of the saint and hence was probably built on the site of the present Abbey, but no definite remains of it have been found. He then takes up the second, or Carolingian, church, which was erected in 775 and to which a chapel was added in the ninth century. Because this second structure was the earliest definitely dated church to be erected in Charlemagne's realm, it is a key monument for the history of early medieval architecture. Most of the book, therefore, is devoted to clarifying and increasing our knowledge of this building.

The author's evidence is based on close study of the numerous written documents relative to the history of the Abbey, and of the existing architectural remains—a study aided by excavations within the present church during the summers of

1938 and 1939. The whole problem is immensely complicated by the fact that many of the written documents in the case, long supposed to be of very early date, were actually composed much later by monks of the Abbey in an effort to bolster its reputation and power. Furthermore, the architectural remains of this Carolingian church have been very largely destroyed either by subsequent rebuildings or by overrestoration during the nineteenth century. And most of the drawings made by Viollet-le-Duc, the ablest of the restorers, to show the state of the remains before he began his restorations were allowed to crumble into dust in the workshop beside the Abbey. For all these reasons, as Mr. Crosby himself points out, many of his careful conclusions must necessarily be somewhat conjectural. Nevertheless, he has made a reconstruction of the Carolingian church that is far more convincing than any previous one, a reconstruction ingeniously presented in part by means of photographs of a transparent model.

The following possible criticisms of the volume occur to this reviewer. In the first place, the title is to some extent a misnomer, as the book deals primarily with the Abbey church alone and not with the other buildings of the Abbey. In the second place, since the outbreak of the present war admittedly prevented Mr. Crosby from completing his excavations of the nave and transepts, it perhaps would have been wiser to delay publication until the return of peace had made it possible to finish them. Furthermore, it is difficult to understand the advantage of the proposed series of three small volumes over a single large one, particularly as in this first volume some of the necessarily lengthy discussion of controversial points might have been relegated to appendixes.

Despite the fact that Mr. Crosby's book is devoted only to the history of the Abbey church of St.-Denis, and to the Carolingian building in particular, the confused nature of the available evidence has compelled him to investigate many highly controversial problems involving the general history of early medieval church architecture, problems such as the origin and development of the polygonal apse, the crypt, the ambulatory, the transept, the two-towered façade, etcetera. Consequently, Mr. Crosby has frequently been faced with the difficult question as to just how far he is justified in going into such general problems in a monograph of a specific nature. As a result of his uncertainty there is wide variation in the bibliographical completeness of his references. The photographs and drawings which serve as illustrations are mostly well chosen and clear, but their arrangement is not always too happy.

On the whole, however, the volume is a careful and reasonable study of a relatively little-known and confusing period in the history of architecture. Because it was in this period that the formation of medieval style really began in France, Mr. Crosby's book cannot be neglected by those interested in the Carolingian period or in the general history of early medieval architecture in Western Europe.

Princeton University

DONALD DREW EGBERT

SOCIAL THEORIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES, 1200-1500. By *Bede Jarrett*, O. P. Second printing. (Westminster: Newman Book Shop. 1942. Pp. ix, 280. \$4.00.)

THIS is a reprint (without revision of any sort) of a collection of nine essays, published in 1926, dealing with later medieval theories of law, education, women, slavery, property, money-making, war, Christendom, and art. The theories most fully illustrated are those of the leading Dominican moralists of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Antoninus of Florence. The Dominican tradition is further reflected in frequent quotations from Humbert de Romans, Robert Holcot, John Bromyard, Giovanni Dominici, Savonarola, and Cardinal Cajetan. With the exception of Mafeo Vegio's *De liberorum eruditione*, which is extensively used in the discussion of education (pp. 51-68), no non-Dominican source is more than rarely cited. There is one important quotation from St. Bonaventura (p. 10) and one from Scotus (p. 124) and three allusions (without specific quotation) to Ockham, but the impression is that no consistent study was made of Franciscan theories. The scattered references to secular literature, to Dante, Christine de Pisan, Langland, and Chaucer, to *Aucassin and Nicolette*, *Pearl*, *The Shepherd's Play*, are somewhat hackneyed and not always accurate. There is no evidence that any study was made of the chroniclers, Dino Compagni, Villani, Froissart, Commynes, or others.

The opening chapter deals with the sources and influence of St. Thomas' definition of law as "an ordinance of reason for the common good, promulgated by him who has care of the community"; but it fails to emphasize the revolutionary character of Thomistic Aristotelianism. The essay on education makes good use of Mafeo Vegio; but it is unfortunate that, in dealing with so Vergilian a humanist, the end of one hexameter and the beginning of the next are cited as a single line: "Cui plurima mento canities inculta iacet" (*Aeneid* VI, 299, 300) and that *sordidus* (*ibid.*, l. 301) should appear as *sordibus* (p. 66).

The gap between the theories of the moralists and the actualities of medieval sentiment is well revealed in the discussion of women. Apart from the English Dominican Robert Holcot, who could speak "in crisp sentences, too narrow for their lyrical ideas, of marriage as a perfect act in the choice of a true partner" (p. 77), most of the moralists wrote on a level of seemingly disdainful legalism. Space should here have been found for more than the fleeting allusion to "that wonderful poem *Pearl*, with its delicate family affection, its exquisite appreciation of childhood, its recognition of the power of girlhood to civilize and spiritualize and make virginal the dreams of men" (p. 83), for some mention of "courtly love," of Petrarch's Laura, of that ideal Beatrice who could lead Dante "ad amar lo bene di là dal qual non è a che s'aspiri" (*Purg.*, xxxi, 23-24). Still more in the following chapters on slavery, property, money-making, and war is one conscious of the lag of theory behind the march of events. Whether or not it is true that "by . . . 1500 we find that almost all the problems perplexing the earlier Middle

Ages have been cleared up," it is quite certain that "fresh problems have arisen owing to the new conditions of Christendom" (p. 204).

The chapter on Christendom is disappointingly jejune—just a few distinctions between pagans, Jews, heretics, schismatics, and Catholics, a few familiar facts of fourteenth and fifteenth century history, and a few ideas on nationalism, secularism, and conciliarism. The last chapter, on art, is admirably lucid in explaining the medieval distinctions between speculation, prudence, and art.

It is regrettable that so useful a work should have been reprinted without some editorial revision. Thus there are three allusions to the doubtful authorship of *De eruditione principum*—as though nothing had been written on either Vincent de Beauvais or Guillaume de Perault since 1926. The references should have been checked. Thus the references to the *Summa* II. ii. 2, 4, and II. ii. 23 (pp. 219, 220), should read II. ii. 11, 4, ad lam and II. ii. 11, 3; and so of many others.

Fordham University

GERALD G. WALSH

THE JEWS IN SPAIN: THEIR SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND CULTURAL LIFE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Abraham A. Neuman*, President, the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. Volume I, A POLITICAL-ECONOMIC STUDY; Volume II, A SOCIAL-CULTURAL STUDY. [The Morris Loeb Series.] (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1942. Pp. xxxi, 286; xi, 399. \$2.50 per volume.)

THIS is a remarkable book. It is not exactly a history in the strict sense of the word, but rather a series of pictures of the life and civilization of the Jews in Spain during the eight centuries that elapsed between the era of persecution under the late Visigoths and the edict of expulsion by which, on March 30, 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella elected to recognize God's goodness in permitting them to conquer Granada. During the first three quarters of that long interval the Spanish Jews were treated with a degree of toleration and liberality to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any other part of Europe. They were segregated in special communities (*aljamas*); they retained their local officials, their minor courts, and their law codes. The Christians were strictly forbidden to vex or oppress them, to force them to accept baptism, or to interfere in any way with their religious observances. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these happy conditions were altered for the worse. Massacres and forced conversions became increasingly common, and a schedule drawn up for purposes of taxation in 1474 shows that there were only about twelve thousand families of professing Jews left in Castile at the accession of the Catholic Kings. The story that Dr. Neuman has to tell us covers both the period of toleration and that of the beginnings of persecution. He has tapped rabbinical sources hitherto unutilized (it is a thousand pities that his bibliography does not afford us any idea of their relative merits), as well as the standard authorities, and given us a vivid, interesting, and intensely human picture of the internal life of the Spanish Israelites

in the days of their prosperity and on the eve of their expulsion. Perhaps the most notable feature of the whole book is its freedom from partisanship or bias. There is scarcely a word of condemnation of the persecutions by the Visigoths; the mentions of the edict of expulsion of 1492 are but incidental.

On the inside of the cover and the fly leaf, at the beginning and end of both of Dr. Neuman's volumes, there is printed a map of the Iberian kingdoms from 1250 to 1450, "reproduced with the kind permission of the Macmillan Company" from the one that is to be found at the beginning of the first volume of my *Rise of the Spanish Empire*. But in one respect the reproduction is most inexact; it gives the impression that Cerdagne and Roussillon belonged, during the period in question, to France and not to Spain. The tinting which was furnished for the map in my first volume is so indistinct that Dr. Neuman is not altogether to blame for his mistake, though a careful perusal of the appended legend would have saved him from it. The fact, of course, is that both these regions had been under the control of the realms of the Crown of Aragon since the twelfth century and (save for a brief period from 1462 to 1493, when they were temporarily handed over to the king of France in pledge of payment of a debt) remained there until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659.

Harvard University

ROGER B. MERRIMAN

RICHARD II. By *Anthony Steel*, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. With a Foreword by G. M. Trevelyan, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. x, 320. \$3.50.)

By 1369, when this work begins, the royal power had greatly increased by the expansion of the machinery of the royal government, while at the same time the wealth and power of the lay magnates had also been augmented. From 1369 to the end of the century the weaknesses of the decaying Edward III and the neurotic Richard II opened the way for the control of the state by the barons. Their supremacy was characterized by continual party strife among themselves and, under Richard II, against the king. Their last struggle against him was the successful revolt of 1399, led by Henry of Lancaster, who decided to depose the king and usurp the throne, instead of establishing a baronial government under the nominal headship of Richard II.

From the angle of constitutional history the period was exciting and surprising. The conventional interpretation in the nineteenth century was that Richard had long pursued the goal of absolutism which in the end he actually realized. His success led to his overthrow. There resulted the claim to parliamentary sovereignty, since a king succeeded by virtue of a parliamentary title. Some recent scholars have questioned this interpretation of the reign, and "this book," says the author modestly, "is an attempt to make a coherent whole out of the minutiae and in certain instances the larger monographs of certain scholars."

It is actually a new interpretation of the reign based upon a careful study of the sources and the secondary material, old and new. The problems of analysis are difficult because of the violent partisanship of the sources and the skillful falsification of record and chronicle; we are now in the midst of the revaluation of the period, and this book is a welcome addition to historical literature.

The personality of the king was one of the major factors of the reign. The author concludes that Richard's timid and nervous temperament finally developed a neurosis that best explains his conduct after 1397. He undermines the theory that the king had skillfully and tenaciously deceived his enemies from 1389 to 1397 by his constitutional rule while he built up his party; that when the time was ripe, he carried out his plan of revenge, destroyed constitutional government, and established an absolute monarchy. It is well argued.

He follows the iconoclastic account of the fall of Richard, set forth by Clarke, Galbraith, and Lapsley, based on sources, most of which were known to Stubbs. He concludes that Henry IV decided to claim the throne by conquest, by inheritance from Henry III, and by the assent of the estates and the people present. He deliberately rejected a parliamentary title, a significant action. Parliament had made great progress since Edward I's day. Constantly employed by the king to grant taxes and pass statutes, it had risen alongside the great council as part of the working constitution. Legislation by the king and parliament had the same legal effect as did legislation by the king and the great council; that is, it bound the king as well as the people. Imperceptibly the ancient custom of the subordination of the king to the law of the feudal state was being adopted as the principle of the new national state. The king formed an essential part of the parliament, even when the acts passed limited his power, as in the case of the commission of eleven in 1386 and the parliament of October 6, 1399. These last two assemblies, says our author, achieved a true *de facto* parliamentary sovereignty. There was, however, really no difference between them and any parliament of Edward III. A great chasm separates this kind of parliamentary sovereignty and the sovereignty of parliament, without the king.

To have the magnates and the commons by themselves in the name of Richard fix the succession on Henry and then extort an abdication from Richard was no doubt feasible, as Steel says, but unprecedented. They would place the new king wholly at the mercy of the barons who controlled parliament. Hence, perhaps, Henry's decision to base his claim on different grounds. If it be alleged that either title was legally questionable, one must assent. The statement reveals the instability of the Lancastrian title to the crown and the gulf which separates it from the title of Richard II. The constitution had thus been amended. Henry IV had proved that the kingship was henceforth open to any ambitious magnate of royal blood who met with a favorable opportunity and possessed adequate support.

The book makes the detail of these bygone political conflicts interesting and somewhat colorful; it emphasizes the personalities of the participants; it depicts them in general with sympathy and understanding, without making the un-

favorable criticism of their motives and ideals so tempting for men who live in another age and have evolved different mores.

Yale University

SYDNEY K. MITCHELL

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE, *DE LAUDIBUS LEGUM ANGLIE*. Edited and translated with Introduction and Notes by *S. B. Chrimes*, Lecturer in Constitutional History, University of Glasgow. [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History, edited by Harold Dexter Hazeltine.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. cxiv, 235. \$6.00.)

For his text of the *De Laudibus* Dr. Chrimes has collated the three extant manuscripts and the first printed edition (1546). This is the closest to the original, "a better and more complete text than that contained in any of the three MSS." He argues that it was printed from "Fortescue's own autograph MS.," yet he chose the earliest manuscript against the 1546 edition "as the basis of" his text. There are 866 variant readings, none of which makes any drastic change in the sense. Scientific editing was, however, necessary to prove the reliability of the older editions. Dr. Chrimes's translation reads smoothly, and his informal manner—page xci contains seven *I*'s—enlivens his introduction and historical notes.

In translating, Dr. Chrimes has tried "to refrain from interposing modern ideas," and, in the main, he has succeeded. In a few places, to avoid stiltedness, he sacrificed precision for fluency. But the license taken on page 87 is of more consequence. He translates: "Nor can the king . . . impose tallages . . . on his subjects, nor change their laws, nor make new ones, without the concession or assent of his whole realm expressed in his parliament." But there is no *potest* in the Latin, only *imponit*, *mutat*, and *condit*. The difference between what the king *does* not do and what he *can* not do (Selden accepted *neither doth* in 1616) means the difference between Fortescue's factual description of legal institutions and a treatise on political theory.

Dr. Chrimes contends, as does Dr. Hazeltine, that Fortescue "says, quite clearly and definitely, that the limitation on the king of England is a *parliamentary* limitation." There are three passages (pp. 41, 87, 135) into which such a notion might be read in the light of later English history. But Fortescue does not use the word "limitation," and to argue that he taught a "doctrine that English kingship was limited not only by law, but by parliament," is to lose sight of two facts. Parliament was, before and after Fortescue wrote, the king's institution, and the king or his councilors ran parliament. Also, the Wars of the Roses, which occasioned the *De Laudibus*, were fought to gain good governance and a competent executive, not to extract a Magna Carta from a tyrant. In his "Governance of England" (p. 148) Fortescue urged the council to greater activity; he wrote of parliament almost with contempt.

In considering Fortescue's meaning, Dr. Chrimes's point of view is fixed by a predilection for political theory; this reviewer's by a penchant for political facts. Dr. Chrimes presents convincing circumstantial evidence that Fortescue wrote

this treatise in France in 1470-71 when the Lancastrians were back in power. Writing about English laws and customs for Prince Edward, then living near St. Mihiel, Fortescue described rather than theorized. He mentions parliament only to explain how the statutes *are* made and to prove that English laws "are the best" —not that parliament limits the king. He contrasts English practices with those of Louis XI's realm. Is it not Louis XI, with his arbitrary personal rule, who supplies the key for interpreting the *De Laudibus*? Prince Edward's probable familiarity with, perhaps partiality toward, Louis XI's methods gives point to the contrasts between England and France. And the *De Laudibus* becomes more than an essay on political theory: it is a guide to political practice.

Fortescue, like other Englishmen in exile, found things English mighty good, and when his party was back in power he could write with an "optimistic and cheerful note." Even through the wartime paper on which this book is printed, it, too, exudes a similar spirit. Fortescue praises England's laws, Dr. Chrimes praises Fortescue, and the general editor eulogizes Dr. Chrimes. Laud is also due Dr. Hazeltine for both his essay on "The Age of Littleton and Fortescue" and the gracious sponsorship he has, for many years, given to young scholars.

Yale University

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

Modern European History

MEN OF SUBSTANCE: A STUDY OF THE THOUGHT OF TWO ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARIES, HENRY PARKER AND HENRY ROBINSON. By *W. K. Jordan*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 283. \$3.00.)

THE "substance" which Mr. Jordan remarks in the two subjects of his monograph is gross, material substance. Henry Parker and Henry Robinson were men with money, one a member of the landed gentry, the other of the merchant aristocracy. Mr. Jordan's thesis is that, because they embodied the genius and aspirations of these dominant classes, Parker and Robinson were able in the years 1641-53 to foresee in many respects the future development of religious, political, social, and economic institutions in England. In religion they foresaw tolerance; in politics, the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty; in social life, the rule of a benevolent aristocracy; in economic life, free trade.

The general point of view behind this interpretation and the methods by which it is sustained will be largely familiar to readers of Mr. Jordan's four volumes on the *Development of Religious Toleration in England*. In the present work great erudition and considerable understanding are kept from illuminating a subtle and provocative subject by the rigid application of abstract, schematic categories. Mr. Jordan is at bottom concerned with the paradox that men who were conservative in purpose should be forward-looking, even revolutionary,

by virtue of circumstances. But he clarifies this paradox very little by his argument that Parker and Robinson somehow "foresaw" the unfolding of England's future. Parker's theory of parliamentary supremacy, for instance, is said to be "startlingly similar to that which was to underlie not only the revolutionary constitutional experiments but subsequent constitutional development in England" (p. 170). Such a statement simply covers too much ground to have any meaning; almost as much as the breathtaking declaration that "Parker was an early and significant harbinger of modernity" (p. 141). Few questions of fact and interpretation escape Mr. Jordan's efforts to make everything in Parker and Robinson "modern." The announcement that Robinson's advocacy of free trade is "more reminiscent of nineteenth- than seventeenth-century discussion" (p. 231) represents a drastic distortion of views which are essentially mixed. "Diplomatic and occasionally naval persuasion" (p. 232) is surely a phrase too delicately euphuistic to describe adequately the role of government and government-inspired monopolies envisaged by Robinson.

Allowances being made for Mr. Jordan's persistent efforts to induce history to vindicate his protégés, his most meaty writing will be found in the discussion of Robinson's religious views. Here he seems most at home; and here his analysis of books and men (despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that his theory of class determination here breaks down completely) rises to something like convincing eloquence. But for the most part, the patchwork of paraphrase and quotation by which the thought of the two English revolutionaries is presented remains verbose, repetitious, and muddy. Perhaps the trouble is that Mr. Jordan is not enough of a revolutionary himself—conservative or otherwise—to feel full sympathy for his subjects. However that may be, his account goes far toward robbing Parker of his sharpness of wit and Robinson of his busy inventiveness. We are left with a specious lawyer and a wordy merchant, for whom it is hard to feel properly grateful.

A teacher of English may be permitted to bewail the fate which threw a writer of sharp, hard, pamphleteering prose like Henry Parker into the hands of a scholar who writes of "a monumental contribution to the ferment of thought which was . . . to fashion the design of a new economic and social order" (p. 1). Robinson deserves nothing better; but alas for Parker!

University of Wisconsin

ROBERT MARTIN KRAPP

ANGLO-DUTCH COMMERCE & FINANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Charles Wilson*, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History, General Editor, M. M. Postan, Professor of Economic History in the University of Cambridge.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xviii, 235. \$3.50.)

DESPITE their great importance, Anglo-Dutch economic relations have received little attention from historians. Three wars, accentuating the rivalry of the two

countries in the seventeenth century, ended in a stalemate just in time for them to unite in 1689 against their common enemy, France. By 1700 Amsterdam had become "the staple market about which international trade and finance revolved," for their geographical position, their honesty, and their lower freight rates had gained for the Dutch a shipping monopoly. As late as 1721 "English goods were exported to France in Dutch boats by way of Holland and then sent from Flanders to France," paying duties four times on the way (p. 20). England mainly exported fine cloth to Holland and imported from thence linen and duck (for sails), which the Dutch bought in Germany and bleached before exporting. By 1720, however, England and Germany were trading directly but for many years continued to use Amsterdam for paying trade balances; by 1750 Scottish and Irish linens were competing with those of the Dutch.

As early as the reign of Charles II, on account of English jealousy, it was felt desirable to conceal from parliament the extent of Dutch participation in English loans, and as late as 1761, indeed, such information remained a cabinet secret. In 1688 the Dutch advanced William III six hundred thousand pounds for his English expedition, and Anglo-Dutch financial relations grew steadily closer during the two wars of the next quarter century. Both William and the duke of Marlborough depended on Dutch contractors to feed and clothe their troops on the Continent. The English financial crisis of 1696 was relieved by loans from Amsterdam. Even Louis XIV utilized Dutch banks to transfer funds to his army on the Italian frontier and in Flanders. "The age of international finance for the Dutch, and the Golden Age of Anglo-Dutch finance" lasted from 1713 to 1780. The Dutch Christians, rather than their Portuguese-Jewish confreres, played the leading roles in Anglo-Dutch finance. Many of the scions of Dutch families settled in London, and some of them became wealthy, influential British subjects.

Most of the Dutch financiers got out of the South Sea Bubble in time, and their interest in British funds slackened only momentarily. In 1746 Britain had a serious panic, but even at the beginning of the year, with Dutch aid, she floated a three-million-pound loan, and by November, thanks to Culloden and the co-operation of Dutch financiers, another for five millions. Within three years of concluding peace, she had called in certain annuities bearing high rates of interest. In 1755, however, threats of war found England unprepared; yet, between 1759 and 1762, "Dutch money poured into the Funds," since the cabinet relied upon "a small clique of Dutch and Huguenot financiers" friendly to the duke of Newcastle (p. 160).

The peace in 1763 was followed by a panic in Holland; nevertheless, the Dutch steadily increased their British holdings until the more serious crisis in 1772. Although the Bank of England's new discount policy brought ruin to many daring speculators, even this did not check the flow of Dutch money into England. "Dutch neutrality . . . and Dutch confidence in British credit expired simultaneously in 1780." The Dutch then held about 40 per cent of Britain's national debt and rued the fact that for seventy years they had financially sup-

ported an economic rival who had suddenly become a political foe. "It was the war of 1780 which was really fatal to the Republic," although unquestionably the French Revolution sealed its fate (p. 202). Even before 1780 the Dutch had turned to the United States for a financial outlet. In 1802 American securities stood first on the Amsterdam Bourse, and by 1818 the Dutch and English had divided almost equally practically all of our foreign debt. Dutch economic policy certainly "obstructed and postponed" their industrial development, as British credit was becoming "the handmaid of industrial revolution" (p. 188).

Mr. Wilson's book is a substantial contribution to critical scholarship. Based upon an intelligent study of some of the more important Dutch sources, it is well documented and clearly written. The index is adequate, but an annotated list of the more important secondary works utilized would have been welcome, as well as a fuller treatment of Anglo-Dutch rivalry before 1713. But these minor defects may well have been due to the exigencies of the war.

Indiana University

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN

FRENCH PREDECESSORS OF MALTHUS: A STUDY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WAGE AND POPULATION THEORY. By *Joseph J. Spengler*, Professor of Economics, Duke University. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 398. \$4.50.)

DURING the first half of the eighteenth century there was a general, though mistaken, belief in France that the nation was declining in population. This belief was expressed by a number of writers, described as "populationists," who urged the necessity of a large population in order to maintain France's position as a great nation. Professor Spengler's book is devoted to an analysis and a critical examination of the views of these writers, the obscure as well as the famous ones. In it the reader will find the views of Goudar, Jaubert, Moheu, Plombain, and Villeneuve, as well as those of Mirabeau *père*, Quesnay, Turgot, Condorcet, and Necker. The work is well done, so well done, in fact, that it will hardly be necessary for anyone to read the originals in order to get a fairly accurate idea of opinion on this subject. The value of the book is enhanced by its discussion of labor and wage theories in relation to population that were current in eighteenth century France.

Of all the economic writers the most important were, of course, the Physiocrats. The author devotes considerable space to the expounding of their views on the population question. The Physiocrats were distinctly anti-Malthusian in that they desired to increase, not to diminish, population. In their view the size of the population was the index of national power and prosperity. Wealth, they reasoned, "recruits population," and only the increase of agricultural production, the "primary source of true wealth," could increase wealth. Whatever promoted agriculture, therefore, tended to increase the size and standard of the population. If laws favored agriculture, the peasants would not leave the country, where they multi-

plied, and go to the city, where they became as "sterile" as the industrial occupations in which they were engaged.

None of the writers, discussed in the book, had a clear recognition of the Malthusian principle of biological determinism, arising from the pressure of population on the food supply. Those who came nearest to Malthus were Abbé Theodore A. Mann and Condorcet. The former posited the thesis that "population naturally increases in an indefinite progression," whereas food supply was limited by the extent of the soil. Condorcet did visualize the possibility that mankind might multiply beyond the means of sustaining it, a process which, if not controlled, would seriously halt human progress. What Condorcet suggested to avert this calamity was birth control, a means that Malthus sharply repudiated in his famous *Essay*.

Although the book under review does not devote itself to a synthetic treatment of the subject, its concluding chapter makes important and significant observations and criticisms. Professor Spengler observes that the government made no effort to solve the problem of mass poverty that came with the social and economic transformation of France during the eighteenth century. The solution of the problem, presented by the "artless agrarians," as the author calls the Physiocrats, with their "cereal standard of subsistence," was totally inadequate. The Physiocrats failed to recognize the great importance of the international division of labor in agriculture, let alone in industry. Specialization in agriculture would have resulted in giving a more varied and higher standard of subsistence through imports of the new food supplies from America. Significant also was the attitude of the economic writers of the period toward labor and wages. The "subsistence wage" theory, made famous by the "dismal" classical school, originated with the French economists. In some of their writings, according to the author, there even "lurked some sort of wages fund," the portion of capital set aside for labor, the wage theory that had a discouraging effect on efforts to ameliorate the lot of the workers during the nineteenth century.

Like the philosophes the economists were convinced that the source of poverty, as of all other social problems, lay in the "artificial" political and social order of the *ancien régime*. A restoration of *l'ordre naturel* was the naïve, if benevolent, solution that they offered. Ironically enough, from this "solution" arose the problem of *laissez faire* that did so much to hinder social reform during the nineteenth century.

City College, New York

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

NAPOLEON AT THE CHANNEL. By *Carola Oman*. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1942. Pp. vii, 316. \$2.50.)

THE experiences of the present war have awakened their share of historic memories. Our most common temptation perhaps has been to draw parallels between the careers of Adolf Hitler and Napoleon Bonaparte. A good deal of ink

has been spilled noting such significant facts as that the Nazi Führer ended the first stage of his military career as a corporal, while the Corsican was once known as "le petit caporal." One welcome consequence of such comparisons is a revival of interest in the Napoleonic period, and this volume frankly attempts to cater to it. The foreword lays great stress upon the parallel between the two would-be conquerors of Britain. We are even told that the reasons why the threat of each never passed the stage of preparation were "undoubtedly the same," though the reasons themselves are not described. The foreword also claims that Miss Oman "gives for the first time all the facts about the projected invasion" (p. vii).

The book itself makes little or no pretension to being a serious study of the Napoleonic invasion plans. The theme "Napoleon at the Channel" serves only as a vague background for a kaleidoscopic treatment of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. Any romantic or dramatic episode in the life of no-matter-which contemporary is hauled into the story. This is accomplished with some grace and with considerable sprightliness of style, but the stringing together of so many irrelevancies eventually becomes tedious.

Miss Oman's use of source material appears to have been confined in the main to the diaries and memoirs of the more gossipy among Napoleon's contemporaries. One of the few footnotes of the book refers the reader to Desbrière's great work on the invasion project, but it can be safely assumed that the author has not dipped into it herself. The story of the Boulogne camp is told largely in terms of life of the soldiers, the visits of Napoleon, and other personal side lights. It would appear that Miss Oman has not made herself conversant with even the general history of the plan, as she fails to utilize some of her best opportunities for dramatic narration. Admiral Villeneuve's dash to the Antilles is not even mentioned, while the story of his abandonment of the trip to the Channel is virtually passed over.

There are numerous inaccuracies which might have been avoided by simple checks. Thus a glance at the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier* would have revealed the incorrectness of the statement that he signed "only with his Christian name, or its initial" (p. 99) after his election as consul for life. In summary it may be said that the reading of this book is in many respects entertaining and that it provides a good deal of "atmosphere." It contributes nothing, however, to our knowledge of the subject upon which it is ostensibly written.

University of Minnesota

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH

SCOTLAND IN MODERN TIMES, 1720-1939. By *Agnes Mure Mackenzie*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xx, 412. \$4.00.)

THIS book is the sixth and final volume of the general history of Scotland, planned and executed by Dr. Mackenzie. It is an excellent summary of Scotland's story for the past two hundred years. Dr. Mackenzie divides "modern times" into four periods. In the first, 1720-89, the tale is one of courageous work to rescue

Scotland from economic ruin at a time when the Act of Union had thrust the country into political oblivion. "The Forty-five" is not here treated in detail, since it was handled in the preceding volume, *The Passing of the Stewarts: 1638-1748*. In the second period, 1789-1832, the Industrial Revolution dominates the scene, while the problems of a modern industrial society, ever increasing in number and complexity, are the central story of the third, 1832-1914, and the fourth, 1914-39. For each of these periods separate chapters or sections deal with material achievements, social conditions, cultural history, politics and government, and the like. The least interesting chapters are those on the European background, though they may be necessary framework in a general history. Among the best sections are those where the author marshals her statistics and facts to show the extent of the poverty, the injustices meted out to large elements of the population (*e.g.*, the emigration policies), and the effects of the World War on Scottish society. These are excellent, partly because they are the best arguments in support of the real theme and purpose of the book.

Dr. Mackenzie wrote this volume not alone with the idea of presenting a detailed and yet concise statement of her country's recent history. She is gravely concerned about Scotland's loss of identity as a nation, the drain of its intelligent leadership "abroad," which term means England as well as the empire and foreign countries (see pp. 192-96, 260-68, and 323). She castigates her countrymen and the English, the former for their apathy and, at times, treachery (on p. 195 she refers to the "Anglo-Scots Quisling"), the latter for their selfish blindness and bland indifference, their cool assumption that England is synonymous with Great Britain. The arguments she presents, *e.g.*, the appalling figures on population, vital statistics, health, housing, and unemployment (pp. 331-33, 335-36), coupled with parliamentary neglect of Scottish problems (pp. 252, 391-92), are eloquent. The reader may feel that the author exaggerates Scotland's loss of prestige and identity and that in the description of the various proposals for home rule too little space is devoted to the difficulties of a satisfactory solution (pp. 238-42, 343-48). Nevertheless, one sympathizes with Dr. Mackenzie's point of view and realizes that her book may play an important role in Scotland's regeneration. The last chapter on signs of progress in the 1930's makes one confident of Scotland's future.

There are a few picayune errors in names and dates. The reader in the United States could wish that Dr. Mackenzie, whose patriotism is so ardent, would give due recognition to national feeling here by quoting the Declaration of Independence accurately. In the small part quoted (p. 69), omissions are made but not indicated. But this is quibbling. The book is good, spirited, at times too solid, always thoughtful and challenging. The author is to be honored for producing work of such merit under the trying conditions of 1940 and 1941 when bombs rained about her.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania

HELEN G. STAFFORD

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND BRITISH OPINION SINCE 1860: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONTEMPORARY IDEAS AND THE EVOLUTION OF AN ENGLISH INSTITUTION. By *Edward C. Mack*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 511. \$3.75.)

Nothing could be more timely than the appearance of Dr. Mack's second volume, bringing the history of the public schools of England up to the year 1940. The first volume carried the reader back to the foundations of the English educational system and demonstrates how the rich and privileged enjoyed educational advantages which they failed to adapt to changing conditions. This second volume deals with the efforts at reform since 1860 up to 1939. It provides, therefore, the necessary background for estimating the revolutionary changes which public opinion at the close of this war will force upon the British public schools.

Dr. Mack illustrates by telling examples the power of public opinion over the public schools—free though they were of direct governmental control. Arnold of Rugby, Thring of Uppingham, and Sanderson of Oundle were three great headmasters, leaders of educational thought. Their philosophies and their achievements receive adequate and sympathetic treatment from Dr. Mack. But his pages make clear that the Royal Commission of 1861 was forced on the schools by public opinion, and its finding opened the way to reforms that otherwise would have been beyond the power of even the most enlightened headmaster.

Dr. Mack explores at length the forces that influenced public opinion up to 1914, letters to the press, magazine articles, and above all novels dealing with the life of the public school. His analysis of the novels, notably of Kipling's *Stalky and Co.*, is enlighteningly acute. He stresses how ripe England was in 1918 for reform of the public schools but how dismal was the failure to achieve any true reconstruction. To Dr. Mack the educational history of 1914-39 is summed up in the headings "The Post-War Revolt" and the "New Conservatism."

Once again public opinion, within the orbit of the schools, triumphed. Neither parents, nor alumni, nor masters, nor boys really wished the schools to be revolutionized.

Changes there were which, in this reviewer's opinion, Dr. Mack underestimates. The first school examination, the school certificate, provided some sort of incentive for the intellectually feeble. Both curriculum and teaching methods were being improved through the influence of the associations of teachers, the Historical Association, the Science Masters Association, and the like. The inspectors of the board of education scattered the pollen of new ideas throughout the schools. Athleticism was being restrained and the arts encouraged. Extra-curricular activities were broadened in scope. The public school was being humanized. By 1938 schools like Bedales and Eton, to use Dr. Mack's examples, had far more in common than would be realized by either parent or visitor. Reform was proceeding beneath the surface to an extent that perhaps would have surprised the staffs themselves.

Nevertheless, one fact remained. The public schools were class schools—reserved for the children of the rich or at least the well-to-do. It is around this political and social phenomenon that the battle now rages.

An official committee has in the last few months been appointed by the president of the board of education “to consider means whereby the association between the Public Schools and the general educational system of the country can be developed and extended.” The educational reformers of the more advanced type, on the other hand, call for the full incorporation of the public schools into a unified state-aided system of secondary education “as a step towards democracy in our educational system and towards greater health in our national life.”

English public schools, American private schools—are they hindrances to the democratic ideal? Do they create, do they perpetuate, class distinctions which must be swept away when this war for the four freedoms comes to an end? Dr. Mack, in these two volumes, helps the historian and the educationalist to view the problem with a certain breadth and detachment which should be their contribution to the formation of public opinion.

Washington, D. C.

G. T. HANKIN

A HISTORY OF BRITISH SOCIALISM. By *M. Beer*. With an Introduction by R. H. Tawney. One-volume edition. (London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Distributors. 1942. Pp. xxxi, 451. \$4.50.)

THIS is the one-volume edition of a book first published in 1919 and frequently revised and reprinted. The edition under review, which appeared in England in 1940, has a chapter added which brings the story down to the opening of the second World War.

Students may well afford to be grateful to Mr. Beer for bringing so many facts, down to so late a date, between the covers of one book. Nevertheless, the outstanding importance of the book still lies in its earlier sections, perhaps especially in its treatment of pre-Marxist socialism in Great Britain. The word “definitive,” beloved of reviewers, can appropriately and justly be applied to Mr. Beer’s admirable and well-balanced narrative of the development of socialist thought and action in Great Britain prior to the first World War. Far less can be said for the author’s treatment of postwar socialism, especially since his narrative ends with the British Labor party, acting as of September, 1939, “as a responsible and constructively minded Opposition, criticising or supporting the Government measures on their merits, while preserving complete independence and preparing for the day when it will itself be called upon to form a Government.”

This reviewer read the earlier sections of Mr. Beer’s book with a fresh appreciation of the vigor and power of pre-Marxist socialism in Great Britain. Ethically,

despite all changes, there is a modern quality about much of the discussion of the days of Robert Owen, and later of the Chartists. We lack, however, the earlier radical belief in the "infinite perfectibility" of man, or the Marxist conviction of the historical inevitability of a desirable socialism. We have seen the rise of totalitarianism both fascist and communist. We have also felt the sobering spell of modern psychology. On the other hand, we have witnessed the development of a productive technology which makes objectively possible an abundance of which the earlier socialists could scarcely dream. Remembering these things, it is an interesting experience in the midst of total war to read or reread Mr. Beer's book as it was originally written. The same praise cannot be given to its later section.

New York City

NORMAN THOMAS

PRINCE LICHNOWSKY, AMBASSADOR OF PEACE: A STUDY OF PREWAR DIPLOMACY, 1912-1914. By *Edward F. Willis*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XXV.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 318. \$2.75.)

HISTORIANS will welcome this interesting, well-written product of scholarly research into the career of Prince Karl Max Lichnowsky. Dr. Willis has apparently searched widely and diligently through official documents and through innumerable memoirs of the period for any spark of evidence which may throw light on that enigmatic diplomatic figure of the critical years 1912-14, though he is forced to admit that some points must still rest on inferential evidence because of certain lacunae. Although the author sees Lichnowsky's unhappy tendency to inject emotions into purely official documents and concedes that his idealism and emotions often got in the way of his thinking, in the notorious conflict between the German ambassador to Great Britain and his foreign office his own sympathies seem to lie with the former. In general, it appears, the author's conclusions coincide more nearly with the views expressed in Lichnowsky's apologia than with those of his critics.

The volume opens with a discussion of Lichnowsky's background, character, and qualifications for the ambassadorship to Great Britain, and of his anomalous position with respect to his superiors in Berlin. Friction developed, in the first place, because the failure to secure the appointment of Baron Wilhelm von Stumm, director of the political division of the foreign office, "aroused much ill-humor in Kiderlen-Wächter and his clique" in the Wilhelmstrasse. From the beginning of his mission, therefore, Lichnowsky "was undoubtedly in greater danger from Berlin than from London." After Kiderlen's death on December 30, 1912, "virtually all the blistering, scurrilous messages" that Lichnowsky received, though signed by others, were the products of the vitriolic pen of von Stumm, who "hated Lichnowsky because the latter held the London post which he himself desired" and who "worked continuously and persistently to undermine his colleague's

position." Friction was almost bound to arise, in the second place, because of the divergent views held by Lichnowsky and the foreign office regarding the relation of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The former "considered the German alliance with Austria a union with the doomed." At the London Conference of 1912-13, for example, Lichnowsky's diplomacy "was directed too much toward the preservation of peace, and not enough toward the loyal support of Austria," which "lost virtually every round of the battle in the conference." Lichnowsky "wanted to cement the friendship between Germany and England, and for that he was willing to sacrifice an anachronistic and decaying Austria." Again, during the negotiations for an Anglo-German colonial agreement in 1913-14, "Lichnowsky, as usual, did not agree with his superiors in the Wilhelmstrasse." The opposition of the latter delayed the signing of the treaty for nearly two years, so that it was only on July 30, 1914, that "the diplomatic Micawbers in Berlin decided to accept their ambassador's recommendation." Many other instances of this type lead the author to "the impressive conclusion that, by July, 1914, the prince was a tragic and isolated figure. The German Foreign Office had accomplished the unbelievable—they had marooned their own ambassador." One is forced to wonder what the historical effect might have been had Lichnowsky and the Berlin foreign office seen eye to eye.

The volume has a serviceable index but no annotated bibliography. The reviewer would like to protest, also, against the placing of all footnotes at the end of chapters.

Indiana University

F. LEE BENNS

HUNGARY AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE: THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON. By *Francis Deák*. [The Paris Peace Conference, History and Documents, published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. xxii, 594. \$5.50.)

As the chief merit of this book its publishers mention that the "narrative is based on heretofore undisclosed documentary sources" and that the author "does not present the Hungarian point of view regarding the peace settlement. His approach is from the international point of view, presenting the Danubian area as a whole."

The first claim of the publishers can be fully endorsed. Nobody could have had a freer access to the Hungarian archives and enjoyed the confidence of the leading statesmen in that country more fully than the author. Born in Hungary he has supported the Horthy system from its beginning until Hungary's accession to the Axis powers; he was a "registered agent of a foreign principal" as the American editor of the *Hungarian Quarterly*, the main literary exponent of the same system in the Anglo-Saxon world; "he was a delegate of the Hungarian govern-

ment to the . . . Assembly of the League of Nations, and has served that government in other official capacities."

Professor Deák has collected with indefatigable energy an enormous amount of documents, important and unimportant. There are a great many facts in his narrative which are truly illuminating for the understanding of the period, though the author exaggerates sometimes the importance of some details to the detriment of more important ones.

So, for instance, an undue significance is given to the secret negotiations of certain Hungarian and French *faisceurs*, allied with the Schneider-Creusot concern, who, as a semi-official committee of the Hungarian government, found an approach to M. Paléologue. They outlined various projects, "the most important among them being the lease of the Hungarian State Railways and the exploitation of navigation on the Danube by a French concern" in the hope of certain amelioration of the peace treaty. M. Paléologue was cautious enough not to expose the hidden intrigues to his allies and not to bind himself by territorial promises.

On the other side the author does not lay enough stress on some of his documents containing mistakes which should be avoided in the future peace negotiations. Among these: the lack of an enlightened common will on the part of the allies; the hysterical fear of communism which perverted the attitude of some of the statesmen; the great influence of finance capitalism; the stubborn opposition of Austria to Hungary, primarily due to the indignation of the Austrian working class because of the treatment of the Hungarian workers by Admiral Horthy; the almost congenital antipathy between the Czech society of petit-bourgeois elements and the Hungarian feudal classes.

Though acknowledging the value of the material of the book, the second claim of the publishers seems to us unwarranted. There is very little international spirit in it, except when the author (following the point of view of Professor Shotwell expressed in his preface) emphasizes, somewhat abruptly, that the fundamental failure of the peace negotiations was "to deal realistically and constructively with the problem of European peace as an indivisible whole." Unfortunately the right attitude could be only generated by eliminating the one-sided nationalism of all the parties concerned. The author does not show a new spirit in this regard.

His emotional attachment to the Hungarian counter-revolution makes his historical introduction distorted and fragmentary. He completely omits the analysis of the forces which led to the disruption of Hungary. Thus the description of the peace negotiations is presented almost in a social, political, and economic vacuum. Those who are not acquainted with the social structure of Hungary, with its antiquated system of *latifundia*, the administrative monopolies of the landed gentry, and the embittered fights of the oppressed nationalities against the feudal rulers, cannot understand the extreme tension which prevailed between defeated Hungary and her enemies, but will attribute all the harshness of the peace treaty to old grudges and propaganda against an innocent country and its government.

The Hungarian peace delegation appears in Mr. Deák's eyes almost as a group of supermen. His admiration for Count Apponyi is pardonable, because in spite of his detrimental nationality policy (one of the chief causes of the growing irredentism) he was really a man of high culture and good intentions who after the catastrophe had the courage to acknowledge that his nationality policy was a grave error. When, however, the author extends the same unbounded enthusiasm to Count Teleki and Bethlen, whose Machiavellian stratagems laid down the foundation of the fascist structure which bound Hungary first to Italy and later to Germany, the patience of the informed reader is highly taxed.

Oberlin College

OSCAR JÁSZI

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY: ITS FORMULATION IN RECENT YEARS.

By *R. Victor Langford*. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1942. Pp. ix, 226. Cloth \$3.25, paper \$2.75.)

Mr. Langford's study of British foreign policy covers the important years from 1870 to 1939. His particular concern is the formulation of policy which he distinguishes from determination, execution, and substance. The concept of formulation is viewed from the point of view of operations within the government. Drawing his material from the standard biographies, letters, and memoirs, Mr. Langford discusses the role of the monarch, prime minister, foreign minister, and other ministers in the formulation of policy. Two long chapters deal with the important question of divergence of views in the cabinet. Each chapter devoted to a public official covers the whole period from 1870 to 1939. Hence, there is repetition, and several quotations are reproduced more than once to prove different points.

In view of the arrangement of the material, the book would have had greater value had the author used the simple device of stating the problem, defining the terms to be used, and drawing the conclusions. The difficulty is the common fault in historiography of using schematic arrangements which abstract a part of an organic process and present it with no relation to the whole. Although the author divides foreign policy into determination, formulation, execution, and substance, the material he presents deals with substance and the conclusions he draws lie in the field of execution. If by formulation the author means the precision given to contemplated diplomatic acts before they are executed, his book should discuss the role of the foreign office and the diplomatic service. Some use is made of documents, especially *Die Grosse Politik* (which the author consistently misspells in the citations). If he means the process whereby foreign policy is developed from an idea into an act, he should take into account such important phenomena as political parties, pressure groups, and the administrative procedures used in the British cabinet. Instead, the author discusses formulation in terms of personality clashes within the cabinet, as, for example, the queen's dislike for

Mr. Gladstone, the clash between Lloyd George and Lord Curzon, or the divergent personalities and policies of Neville Chamberlain and Anthony Eden. In the chapter on the prime minister, Mr. Langford categorizes nine situations which affect the formulation of policy, all of which deal with personality clashes. The conclusions he draws from them have already been drawn by Ivor Jennings and Arthur B. Keith in their works on the cabinet system.

Mr. Langford's book is well written and well documented. The chief criticism is that it lacks reality. The British cabinet is fundamentally a political body whose members are affected by current modes of thought and action. The separation of members of the cabinet from the entire complex of formulation produces an effect too schematic to be real. Out of it emerges, as in many diplomatic histories, the isolated and abstract "diplomatic man."

City College, New York

FRANCIS WILLIAMSON

BRITISH POLICY IN PALESTINE. By *Paul L. Hanna*. With an Introduction by Josephus Daniels. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1942. Pp. xiii, 214. Cloth \$3.50, paper \$3.00.)

THIS book is a narrative of the British conduct of affairs in Palestine from 1919 to the present day, presumably based upon a review of the literature and documents listed in the appendix. So far as I can see, it is accurate, non-analytical, untendentious, with the minimum of inference and interpretation, hence conventionally "objective." It recounts what happened but does not attempt to evaluate the alternative theories as to *why* it happened, beyond showing a definite sympathy for the—superficial and mistaken—explanation that a high-minded and even generous mandatory has been trying to reconcile the irreconcilable interests of Arab nationalists and Jewish Zionists. Its virtues put the essay in the category of chronicle rather than history, since history must supply an insight into dynamics and a theory of causes. Now British policy in Palestine between the two wars was not an independent variable. It was part and parcel of British policy everywhere in the post-World War decades, the policy which abandoned China to the Japanese, surrendered Ethiopia to Mussolini, betrayed the Spanish Republic to its totalitarian foes, sold out Czechoslovakia to Hitler, entered the present war unready and fought it, until Churchill took over, too little and too late. This policy may be said to have been initiated by Sir Herbert Samuel in Palestine, when he sought to maintain British rule by bribing the criminal with high office and income instead of enforcing the law and insuring the public peace. During the administration of Samuel's successor, Lord Plumer, who made it clear that he would enforce the law, there was peace and safety in Palestine. Under the high commissioners who followed Plumer, government by surrender was the rule, and it could not fail to lead to the rebellion which flouted British authority completely at the outbreak of the present war. Mr. Hanna reports that the permanent

Mandates Commission of the League of Nations pointed out "the mandate might not have proved unworkable had Great Britain applied a firmer and more consistent policy." British policy, not an "irreconcilable conflict" between the Arab and the Jewish interest, made the mandate unworkable. As Mr. H. J. Simson pointed out in 1937 (*British Rule and Rebellion*, Edinburgh and London—I do not find this book listed in Mr. Hanna's bibliography), British policy failed because it ceased to be a policy of government which must enforce the peaceful adjudication of disputes and became a policy of surrender to gangsterism encouraging, the Arabs especially, to rebellious force. There is no room in this review to discuss *why* this was so. The explanation is a chapter in the psychopathology of the British ruling class between the two wars, which, if unhealed by World War II, may cost us the true greatness of England.

New School for Social Research

H. M. KALLEN

NAZI CONQUEST OF DANZIG. By *Hans L. Leonhardt*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xvi, 363. \$3.50.)

"DANZIG was a German microcosm," says Hans L. Leonhardt. "In Danzig events in the Reich were repeated in slow motion." Dr. Leonhardt, who practiced law in the Free City from 1928 to 1938, was legal consultant of the democratic opposition party that vainly struggled against the Nazification of the Baltic middle-town. In this volume he both draws on his personal experience and makes use of extensive documentary evidence. His is the most complete story to date of the subversion of Danzig into a totalitarian state.

This conscientious study illuminates the historical background of the war. That service alone makes it a valuable work of scholarship. But quite aside from that, Dr. Leonhardt's book is the detailed inside story of Hitler's *modus operandi* in the proving grounds of Danzig. As such it contributes uniquely and vitally to the understanding of our Nazi enemy, an understanding that must be taken into account in winning the war and is basic to winning the peace.

In Dr. Leonhardt's chapters the nine-year process of Nazification unfolds in dramatic progress from the invisible warfare of stealth to the use of bold and arrogant force. Phase succeeds phase in enlightening panorama. By "parliamentary" techniques the Nazi fifth column filtered insidiously into the Free City's institutions and organizations, propagandized and corrupted, intimidated and prosecuted. When it was irremovably entrenched, Nazism cast off the sheep's clothing of the fifth column and came out into the open to annihilate by violence the democratic opposition. Danzig became the first extra-Reich Nazi state, a working model for Hitler's subjugation of Europe.

The courage of the anti-Nazi opposition is here depicted in all its hopelessness. It was not only that honor was pitted against the outnumbering hordes of dishonor. The bungling ineptitude of the League of Nations, to say nothing of

its "verbose futilities," worked on the side of the totalitarians. As the author puts it, "there seemed only one weapon: words; one motive: fear; and one direction: backward!"

For all its scholarliness, this is no abstract, academic treatise. The persons, places, and things of the Danzig debacle; Nazism's "hammering upon the senses"; the "Neo-German manifestations of cruelty, untruth, persecution and oppression"—these make vivid reading. Limned in the portraiture of their own words and deeds, Anthony Eden, Dr. Rauschning, Colonel Beck, Sean Lester, Forster, and the snook-cocking Greiser play characteristic roles in this tragedy of a doomed democracy. The six-and-a-half-page bibliography comes alive in a historical *mélange* of Jews and Catholics, Germans and Poles, guttersnipe Gauleiters, and old-school-tie diplomats.

This book is a significant answer to appeasement's complacent question "Why die for Danzig?"

New York City

HENRY C. WOLFE

Far Eastern History

THE ORIGIN OF MANCHU RULE IN CHINA: FRONTIER AND BUREAUCRACY AS INTERACTING FORCES IN THE CHINESE EMPIRE. By *Franz Michael*. [The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, The Johns Hopkins University.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 127. \$2.00.)

HISTORIANS have in the past too frequently considered the recurrent barbarian invasions of China from the third century to the seventeenth only as a sign of Chinese internal weakness. They have too rarely asked how a relatively small number of barbarians could succeed in establishing a more or less enduring authority over the highly organized Chinese society. That question the present book undertakes to investigate. Avoiding "an exhaustive description of the period," the author has concentrated on an interpretation of the nature of the Chinese frontier cultures and their relation to China proper. With only occasional references to internal Chinese problems, he reserves his main attention for the institutions, policies, and forces through which Nurhaci (1559-1626) and his son Abahai (1591-1643) built up a strong state ready to strike and to conquer at the moment of the Ming decline. Dr. Michael attributes the success of the Manchus to their ability to merge the feudal organization of the steppes with the bureaucratic organization of the Chinese agricultural areas in the Liao basin. They avoided the error of the Liao and Chin nations, whose attempt to segregate Chinese and barbarians under different kinds of organization prevented successful co-operation. They achieved, before the invasion of China, a stable Confucian state which enabled them to obtain the allegiance of influential Chinese elements—an alle-

giance which their rival, the ex-bandit Li Tzŭ-ch'êng, could not gain without first establishing his empire.

These and other ideas are interestingly and in general convincingly presented. It is, however, unfortunate that a number of inconsistencies and errors of detail have been allowed to creep into the text. It is stated on page 87 that Abahai was the eighth son of Nurhači, while on page 45 he is described as the ninth son. On page 78 it is said that Dorgon headed the "ministry of civil affairs" and on page 91 that he headed the "ministry of the interior"; apparently the same office is indicated in both references, but in neither case is the term defined or the Chinese equivalent given. On page 107 it is stated that "the Manchu writing was created under T'ai-tsung's [Abahai's] remarkable direction"; this might possibly lead to a misconception on the part of the reader. It was in fact under Nurhači in 1599 that the older system of writing was replaced by a new one based on the Mongolian system; Abahai in 1632 ordered Ta-hai to make certain revisions and improvements in the new system, and the resulting form became standard.

There is much inconsistency throughout in the romanization of Chinese. In several cases the wrong Chinese characters are printed. These slips are perhaps signs of haste in the final revision and do not cancel the real value of the ideas contributed.

A bibliography lists most important studies in Western languages bearing on the subject. On the Chinese side, the bibliography is less complete in titles and bibliographical identification. The volume is completed by a translation of interesting biographical material on Li Yung-fang, one of the earliest recruits to the Manchu cause, and by a well-conceived map tracing the progress of Manchu expansion from its beginning at Hsing-ching to the conquest of Peking.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Michael will in future publications explore still further the vast fund of source material on the subject and furnish an answer to many of the questions he has raised. In the meanwhile, we are greatly indebted to him for providing us with this first comprehensive and readable interpretation of the Manchu state in its formative period.

Washington, D. C.

E. A. KRACKE, JR.

MISSIONARY AND MANDARIN: THE JESUITS AT THE COURT OF CHINA. By *Arnold H. Rowbotham*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 374. \$3.00.)

HERE is the best account which we have thus far had of a subject which has attracted the attention of a number of writers. It does not attempt to be a complete history of Christianity in China during the period which it covers. It is, rather, what it professes to be, a study of the Jesuit mission at the court of China. This was in a span of years which embraced most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Sufficient attention is given to the setting and to other phases of the Roman Catholic enterprise in China during that era to place the story in its true

proportions. There is, too, a brief summary of the course of Christianity in China before the coming of the Jesuits. The major part of the book is devoted to the mission itself. We are told of the beginnings and of the program which Ricci, the pioneer, developed for obtaining toleration for the propagation of his faith in an empire which was all but closed to the Occident. That program included an accommodation of Christianity to the Chinese cultural environment and winning the ear of the court and the ruling scholar class by a knowledge of Chinese literature and a demonstrated superiority in mathematics and astronomy which commanded respect. Adequate attention is paid to Ricci and his most notable successors, Schall and Verbiest. About a fifth of the narrative is given to the rites controversy, a prolonged episode which did much to weaken the mission. An important section is devoted to the striking effect upon the Europe of the eighteenth century of the knowledge of Chinese civilization mediated through the Jesuits.

Little that is new is brought out, but that is probably because there is little new to be said. Diligent use has been made of a wide range of printed sources and secondary works. One misses reference to Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien Lung*, a study which greatly increases our understanding of the reasons for the persecutions in the latter two thirds of the eighteenth century. Yet not much more of importance appears to have been overlooked.

Here and there the meticulous reviewer would suggest a correction or an addition. The presence of the Apostle Thomas in India is much more doubtful than we are given to understand (p. 3). Xavier's body (except for an arm which is in Rome) is in Goa, not on the island of Shang Ch'uan, as the reference on page 47 might lead the unwary reader to suppose. The difficulties which beset the mission of De Tournon (chapter XI, especially pp. 159-61) would have been made more intelligible if the author had placed greater stress upon the complications brought by the Portuguese *padroão*. The Portuguese claimed, under what they maintained to be the authority of papal grants, the right to control Roman Catholic enterprise in China. Rome was prepared to admit that the *padroão* held for the Portuguese lease-hold of Macao, but it was reluctant to concede that it extended to territories which were not under the Portuguese flag. The long struggle over this issue, particularly in India, where the Portuguese were even more insistent, embarrassed Roman Catholic missions. De Tournon was sent by Rome in a fashion which defied the *padroão*. When, by Chinese action, he was eventually turned over to the Portuguese, the latter took the opportunity to give vent to their spleen. This important aspect of the story is not made clear in the account before us.

It is a rare book in which the reviewer cannot find some flaw. In this case the defects are unusually few. The author and the publisher are to be congratulated upon a careful and competent piece of work.

Yale University

K. S. LATOURETTE

THE DUTCH IN THE FAR EAST: A HISTORY OF THE DUTCH COMMERCIAL AND COLONIAL EMPIRE. By *Albert Hyma*, Professor of History, University of Michigan. (Ann Arbor: George Wahr, Publishers. 1942. Pp. vii, 249. \$1.75.)

IN view of the widespread and active interest in the fate of the Netherlands Indies which currently exists in the United States and elsewhere, any book which throws further light on that part of the world is to be welcomed; but in the opinion of this reviewer, Professor Hyma has turned out too hybrid a volume to be entitled to very serious consideration. To judge solely from the evidence of the book itself, with no knowledge as to the intentions of the author, it appears as if a scholarly treatise on Dutch commerce and sea power in the Far East in the seventeenth century had become suddenly embroiled with the issues of the present war and made to serve, in part at least, as a vehicle for the author's hastily conceived opinions as to the need for an American rescue of the Indies and a consequent vast expansion of trade between the United States and the Dutch islands.

The author is thoroughly familiar with the intricacies of seventeenth century developments, and the bulk of the book is wisely devoted to the amazing rise of the Dutch East India Company and the expansion of its commerce and contacts with the Indies, Japan, and China. An extensive account is given of the diplomatic negotiations and warfare with England and other powers in the early part of the seventeenth century as a part of Holland's efforts to secure a monopoly of the highly profitable trade with the East. This section of the book is strongly documented and makes elaborate use of the available literature.

So long as Professor Hyma is dealing with printed historical materials, he is on solid ground, but it is a little difficult to follow him when, for example, he dismisses geography, the organization of Dutch trade and industry, the influence of racial characteristics and religion, the nature of the Dutch government, and a variety of historical causes as matters of only secondary importance in the explanation of the rise of the Dutch Republic and gives as his own conclusion: "At a certain period in the history of mankind the forces that control the progress of the human race saw fit to enable the Dutch people to outstrip all their neighbors. The Hollanders were suddenly endowed with talents that seem to belong only to supermen."

It is, however, in the concluding chapter on "The United States and the Dutch East Indies" that the book slips most seriously out of focus. This chapter opens with the incredible statement that "if there had been nothing but water between Manila and Singapore, our valiant soldiers fighting under the superb command of General Douglas MacArthur would have had little incentive for their amazing stand on the Bataan Peninsula." It suggests further that the failure of the Japanese to attack Batavia rather than Manila immediately after Pearl Harbor was because of ancient friendships for the Dutch, and that the United States is to ward off

future depressions by developing a monumental trade with a hypothetical two hundred million Indonesians of the future.

Washington, D. C.

RUPERT EMERSON

GOVERNMENT AND NATIONALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. Part I, INTRODUCTION, by *Rupert Emerson*, Formerly Associate Professor of Government, Harvard University. Part II, THE GOVERNMENTS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, by *Lennox A. Mills*, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota. Part III, NATIONALISM AND NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by *Virginia Thompson*, Research Associate, Institute of Pacific Relations. [I. P. R. Inquiry Series.] (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. 1942. Pp. xiii, 242. \$2.00.)

THIS book is a concise but authoritative examination, first, of the governments of eight political administrations in the Far East, by Professor Mills, and, second, of the nationalist movement in six of them, by Miss Thompson.

The eight governments examined are the Philippines; the three British colonies of Burma, British Malaya, and Hongkong; the vast empire of the Netherlands Indies; French Indo-China, a governor-generalcy comprising four different one-time states or colonies; Taiwan, or Formosa, the oldest Japanese colony; and Thailand—before 1939 known as Siam. Miss Thompson's examination of the rise of nationalism among the peoples represented omits discussion of Formosa and Hongkong.

The striking contemporary fact is that, between the preparation of this book for the press and its publication in 1942, every one of these countries or colonies (Formosa excepted) has been overrun and conquered by Japan. All are now presumably included in the Japanese "Co-prosperity Sphere." The extension of Japanese occupation was accomplished, however, without hostility and without the suppression of their governments in Indo-China and Siam. The consolidation of these conquests under Japanese hegemony supposes a somewhat different form of relationship with Japan herself for each one of them; and the recent appointment of a Japanese administrator of occupied territories may lead to partial revelation of the Japanese policies and forms of administration which will be experimented with in each one. But, for the present, there is nearly complete absence of information and a complete uncertainty as to the future of these countries and their peoples.

In spite of the fact that the governments existing previous to a year ago have now been overwhelmed, and the political action and nationalist aspirations of all of these people must be in a state of suspension for the present, this study nevertheless possesses undeniable value. Whether the Japanese retain their control over the Far East, or whether they suffer defeat and are expelled, the heritage of the past will have influence upon future development and will require thorough sift-

ing and weighing. This present volume is a compact and reliable analysis of situations which face both the Japanese conquerors and the United Nations, which may succeed in expelling them.

On the basis of the information afforded by this volume, a few inferences may be made from the results of the considerable period of European and American imperial governments in the Far East. Omitting the situation in Formosa, where, in spite of the fact that the Chinese constitute 93 per cent of the population, Japan's rigorous policy has allowed no nationalist movement to arise, and, omitting the small crown colony of Hongkong, where commercial interests of all races concerned, including the Chinese, seem to have so outweighed all other interests that a desire for independence or greater self-government may be considered non-existent, the other countries all present—in greater or less degree—rising native desire for either outright independence or increased share in governmental responsibility.

In all cases, however, the study would seem to reveal that the nationally conscious or politically active element in these peoples is an extremely small fraction of the total population. In Thailand, where the revolution of 1939 was directed against the autocratic position of the monarchy, the successful revolutionary element appears to have been very small and largely confined to leaders of the military class. Even in the Philippines, where American policy for more than forty years has favored and even welcomed the formation of a nation and nationalist aspirations, the government of the Commonwealth could be described as a narrow oligarchy. It is obvious that independence—if this is the purpose of the United Nations in freeing these islands from their Japanese conquerors—cannot be expected to result in democracy. If one and all of these countries are returned to the hands of the native population, the ruling class promises to be limited and even insignificantly small; and, judging from past experience, maintenance of a small class in power must result in the abridgement of civil liberties and even in acts of rigorous popular suppression.

A second inference to be drawn from this study is the importance, in many of these colonies, of Chinese nationals, their value as laborers and agriculturists; their extreme skill in business, and, in many cases, their superior mental and moral qualities over the indigenous population have made them a very important people in every country here presented. Furthermore, their success has aroused the animosity of the more truly native elements, and the nationalist native movement in nearly every case seems to be strongly anti-Chinese. This study shows that this is markedly true in such countries as Indo-China, independent Siam, and the Netherlands Indies, while in Burma the native national movement is aimed not merely against British rule. An "increasingly aggressive nationalism has been directed primarily against the million or so Indians in the country, rather than against the 30,000 Europeans who are responsible for their overwhelming presence" (p. 165). Obviously, among the many difficulties of the future in this part of the world is the problem of creating an equitable position for the native peoples of

these countries, while preventing national antipathy directed toward foreigners, both Asiatic and European.

A further influence that has prejudiced the authority of government in most of these countries is international communism. This has led to revolt in several countries. Even in the Philippines it gave rise to a possibly affiliated party, the *Sakdal*, and to an out-and-out communist league demanding the overthrow of the Commonwealth government and the substitution of a Soviet state.

All things considered, the prospect of ending so-called imperialistic regimes through a victory, either Japanese or European-American, does not appear practical from the information afforded by this study.

University of California

DAVID PRESCOTT BARROWS

American History

REBELS AND GENTLEMEN: PHILADELPHIA IN THE AGE OF FRANKLIN. By *Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh*. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1942. Pp. xvii, 393. \$3.50.)

IN the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October, 1940, Dr. George Wilson Pierson laid away in a pungent odor of scholarly camphor a homespun legend of the American scene. It was "the frontier hypothesis" of Frederick Jackson Turner. With disarming simplicity Pierson explained a difficulty with the word "frontier" itself. Closely viewed it appeared to mean little if anything. Had Dr. Turner referred to the population density of an outer margin, a process, a political and military boundary? This actually was an original paper, but more that was valuable followed.

Carl Bridenbaugh's *Cities in the Wilderness*, for example, resembling Samuel Eliot Morison's incomparable *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, is one of those rare shafts of light that banishes pedantic obscurity. All the evidence, the details, for Dr. Pierson's commentary are present in *Cities in the Wilderness*. A later volume by Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, however, *Rebels And Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin*, has a different burden: the eternal commonplace, "the scum of the people, Taylours and other scandalous persons," scarcely exists. Their account of Benjamin Franklin's city and contemporaries is written with uncanny emphasis on the respectable mediocrity of immigrant culture Franklin specifically disowned. But the compensation remains that, throughout the Bridenbaugh record, Philadelphia's static fate is inevitable if not deliberately implied.

Easily the four hundred distinguishable men and women announced by its publisher throng the pages of *Rebels And Gentlemen*, yet among transplanted Tories, some reputable scientists, lawyers, and doctors of medicine the rebels are singularly few and disesteemed. In that society the rebel, a Boston-sort of ragtag

and Tidewater bobtail, appears only to inflame the meaner sort against the British crown's gracious providence. John Adams was to write that after his letter upholding self-government for the colonies was circulated "I walked the streets of Philadelphia in solitude, borne down by the weight of care and unpopularity." Mr. Jefferson, living with the bricklayer Graaf on Market Street, is immaterial to a synoptic history of *Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin*.

But replacing this mischief and a fortuitous Continental Congress there is a lengthy celebration of the William Allen, chief justice of the province, who "espoused the losing side of Conservatism in the War for Independence . . . quietly ignored in the *Autobiography* [Dr. Franklin's] because of the personal dislike and political antagonism of its author." The public career of this "socialite," beginning in 1727, "parallels that of his great contemporary, Benjamin Franklin, and . . . presents interesting comparisons and contrasts with that of the ambitious and accomplished tradesman." Ultimately a "coach, drawn by four black horses and driven by an accomplished English whip" bears its Maecenas out of sight down the Germantown road; not, however, before a gratifying assurance that "wealth, education and social eminence enabled the four Allen boys to marry well, and secured the brilliant alliances of his daughters."

In a chapter called "Gentlemen of Leisure and Capacity" newly arrived Scots and Irishmen "pile up fortunes," the "rich carpenter" Samuel Powel accumulates the properties "that enabled his grandson to live . . . without the necessity to work," and prosperous Quakers, prompted by the social advantages of Anglicanism, leave a plain faith for the "more fashionable communion." The poor, aside from the benevolence of countless organized charities and individuals, have no substance at all. They appear simply to provide the motive for a "philanthropic crusade."

There is, in *Rebels And Gentlemen*, a reference to "'Ruffians in the Gallery'" of the Southwark Theatre, another to "'levelers who had broken open the gallery doors . . . to democratize the playhouse,'" but the Bridenbaughs are reticent about that fractious humanity. In their genteel chronicle of Poor Richard's City the privation of an era, a continent, where only a handful saw a gold piece between birth and death is contained by "'a very pretty building and in good taste'" where spinning, sewing, washing or picking oakum almost satisfy the expenses of clothing and food.

Westchester, Pennsylvania

JOSEPH HERGESHEIMER

THE OLD SOUTH: THE FOUNDING OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

By *Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker*, Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. xiv, 364. \$3.50.)

THIS volume is primarily a study of the intellectual life and of the architecture of the planters of the Chesapeake colonies and of the extension of the plantation

into the Virginia piedmont. Somewhat disjointedly appended to these chapters are four others dealing with the Germans and Scotch-Irish in the Great Valley and in the Virginia and North Carolina piedmont, the Southern handicraft trades, Charleston houses, and the monopolizing of land by Southern planters. A preface, introduction, conclusion, and index complete the handsomely printed and finely illustrated work.

Professor Wertenbaker's asperity in rejecting claims that the planters were an English upper class transferred to America is somewhat unnecessary, for his pages are a demonstration of the fact that on the Chesapeake a new upper class arose, compounded of portions of the English gentry, merchant, yeoman, and tradesman classes. Few pieces of American historical literature can match the brilliance and charm of the chapters which describe the Virginia and Maryland planters, their churches, their homes and gardens, their cultural development, and the ever-growing English influence in the eighteenth century. It was an English culture, but English with a difference which represented the American conditions and background, much as the planters and merchants on the Chesapeake and in Charleston adopted the new Georgian style of building, yet made it conform to *their own ideas and to the demands of the climate*.

Neither in his chapter on "Advance into Piedmont" nor in the succeeding description of the German and Scotch-Irish settlers does Professor Wertenbaker describe the life and ideas of the small farmers of the Southern colonies who went from the coast into the back country. His clash of "Tuckahoe and Cohee" is the contest of American planter and European yeoman, rather than of two economic and social systems already in various stages of development before German and Ulster Scot appeared in the foothills. The hope of the South, as the author sees it, was that the "Cohees" would check the westward march of the plantation and its slaves. He shows how German agricultural efficiency made the slow-moving Negro unacceptable, though this reviewer is inclined to suggest that German conservatism, as opposed to the plunging instinct characteristic of Englishman and Scot, had as much to do with it, and that the seeming disinclination of the Scot for slaves was due to the fact that he was usually in regions of bad transportation; in the plantation area of the lower South, where the Scots were to be found in considerable numbers, they went in for slavery with gusto and success.

The chapter on "The Good Earth" dwells chiefly on the part that irregular and fraudulent grants of land played in the process by which the economic resources of the coastal region, north and south, were passing into the hands of a wealthy class. It is hard to see how these grants materially affected the course of North Carolina's development, and the land-grab of the 1730's in South Carolina is described from accounts of interested officials whose reports of frauds have to be shrunk to a fraction of their original size even to get them within geographical boundaries. Like many other writers the author exaggerates the richness of the soil of the South Atlantic states. Over thousands of square miles the nearly sterile sand with its scanty surface humus even at the time of first settlement promised

little for intensive cultivation, and the rich mud of the swamps required capital for its development. It is the climate, rather than the soil, as the late Professor Phillips pointed out, which gives the region certain advantages over the rest of the United States. This climate, however, did not appeal to the eighteenth century immigrants, and even where there were neither slaves nor land claims to cramp them, they soon came to avoid the lowlands.

The checking of the manuscript left an oversupply of errors in text and notes. This criticism, like the others, however, applies to side issues or minor details in this great series of essays. The rare insight and skill with which the author has traced the activities of planter, farmer, and artisan have given new meaning to the history of the evolution of thought and of architecture in the South.

University of South Carolina

R. L. MERIWETHER

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, 1752-1817: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Charles E. Cunningham*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. viii, 403. \$3.75.)

THIS book is not only welcome because of the fresh information which it brings about its subject, the first of the two Dwights who were presidents of Yale, but because of the vivid picture which it gives of the life in New England during the latter half of the eighteenth century, when Puritanism still set the standard not only for men's thinking but for their living. A grandson of Jonathan Edwards, through his mother, herself a woman of exceptional force of character, Dwight was a stern defender of the strict orthodoxy of his time, but with it he combined an open mind and a forward-looking spirit which made him in a true sense the forerunner of a new age.

For one thing he believed that English literature should have its place in a liberal education as well as the classics and theology. He was himself a poet, of a sort, though his long poems have not found a place in any of the anthologies. At the same time he had a keen sense of the importance of physical science and was one of the first to recognize the large contribution which chemistry was designed to make to our knowledge of the universe. While a strict disciplinarian, he did not believe in the use of purely authoritarian methods but would talk to his pupils in private, appealing to their own sense of justice and fairness. In this he was singularly successful, and much of the discipline of the college was entrusted to him when he was a tutor at Yale. What is perhaps still more noteworthy in a day when women had slight educational opportunities, he was a strong believer in their right to as good an education as that given to men, and he did what was in his power to open the doors which had been closed to them.

In a true sense he was the founder of the Yale that was to be. When in 1795 he accepted the corporation's call to succeed President Stiles, Yale was little more than an academy in which the president carried the burden of the teaching with such help as he could get from a few tutors, many of them scarcely older than their students. Dwight laid the foundations of the university in that he saw the

need for a group of professional schools based upon a preceding cultural course in the humanities. In the words of his biographer, "He wanted to make Yale a place of universal learning where every American might be more perfectly educated for the professions as well as in those general studies which would enrich the life of any cultivated gentleman" (p. 233).

Quite apart from the interest of the subject matter, interest which will appeal not only to Yale men but to all who are interested in the history of education in America, Mr. Cuninghame has told his story in such a way as to make the men and women of whom he writes live again. Many strong characters come alive in his rewarding pages. One chapter gives us a picture of the life of a chaplain in the early days of the Revolutionary War. Another tells the story of the trials endured by a conscientious American who was torn between his conviction that the Revolutionary cause was just and the limitation laid upon his conscience by the oath he had sworn as a judge to be loyal to the government which had granted him his commission.

Not the least interesting chapter of the book is the description of undergraduate life at Yale in the first part of the last century. When we compare the conditions under which the young men of that day gained their college education with those which they meet today, one gains some idea of the distance we have traveled in little more than a century.

Union Theological Seminary

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN

PICHARDO'S TREATISE ON THE LIMITS OF LOUISIANA AND TEXAS. Edited by *Charles Wilson Hackett*, Professor of Latin-American History in the University of Texas. Volume III. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1941. Pp. xxii, 623. \$6.50.)

THE reader is referred to this journal, XXXVII, 564, and XLI, 169, for descriptive and critical comments on the first two volumes of this million-word treatise. The fourth and final volume is still to be published.

The first part of the present volume consists of a 110-page discussion of the route of Hernando de Soto's army through the plains of Cibola (Texas), which concludes the description of these plains begun in Volume II. The editor's introduction calls the part published in the present volume "an intriguing contribution, which challenges a re-examination of the opinions of modern scholars," but he does not specify the points at issue or express an opinion regarding the success of the challenge.

The rest of the volume is devoted to a description of "the territory that the French took on the Plains of Cibola" and of the injustice of the French in taking it and of United States citizens in trespassing upon it. The editor's introduction states that this second part of the volume contains "fundamental and conclusive" contributions to the history of the territory in question and that Pichardo's conclusions "will—if they have not already done so—stand the test of time and

historical investigation." Though there is an element of prematurity in the second of these two assertions, the reviewer is not disposed to challenge either of them; but he does feel constrained to dissent from the editor's opinion that it would be "superfluous" for him to indicate "in this brief introduction" what these fundamental contributions and conclusions are. In the reviewer's opinion, it is one of the chief functions of an editor to do just that, especially in the case of a work such as Pichardo's, which is long and intricate; which, though profusely documented, was written over a hundred years ago, without access to all the documents now available, not to mention a host of monographs; and which was essentially a polemical work.

One of the most difficult minor problems that confronted the editor was that of translating back into English Pichardo's Spanish translation of Jefferson's message to Congress on the Lewis and Clark expedition. Instead of taking the easy way out and inserting the original message, Professor Hackett made as literal an English translation as possible of Pichardo's Spanish translation of the message, in order to "reveal Pichardo's understanding of the English documents." Though it would be impossible to achieve complete success in this undertaking, Professor Hackett's ingenious method achieves all that is possible in the nature of the case, and it yields some interesting results. Through Pichardo's eyes we see Jefferson referring to the leaders of the expedition as "Señores Luis and Klar-Ke"; and we also find that to Pichardo, Meriwether Lewis' phrase "a pirogue . . . the frame of which was constructed at Harper's ferry" meant "a pirogue . . . constructed in the manner and likeness of a harp."

While this book is of interest mainly to students of the Louisiana-Texas region and of the dispute over the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, the more general parts of it, such as the one relating to natural boundaries, will interest a wider audience. All those who use it will be grateful to Professor Hackett and his editorial assistant, Dr. Charmion Clair Shelby, for their excellent translation and footnotes and the other scholarly apparatus with which they have equipped the volume.

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

THE AMERICAN FRONTIER IN HAWAII: THE PIONEERS, 1789-1843.

By *Harold Whitman Bradley*, Associate Professor of History, Stanford University. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 488. \$4.50.)

No one need apologize for the addition of this volume to the already abundant supply of treatises on men, institutions, and events in these eight strategic islands which lie athwart the intersection of all the main Pacific Ocean lanes which link the Americas and the Austral-Asiatic lands. On the contrary, the book is most commendable. The style of writing may not be wholly admirable, being somewhat pedestrian, but the volume has coherence and holds materials altogether welcome

to the patient and exacting student. The work is amply documented, not by a formal bibliography but by 2,110 unobtrusive but omnipresent footnotes which refer to an unusual number of indispensable sources. These source materials are almost altogether in the English tongue—there is very little in other tongues which bears upon the “pioneering” years. The parts of the work are indeed well put together! What little repetition there is appears usually in summaries (*e.g.*, p. 166). The research and composition extended, obviously, over many years and demonstrate in the end the author’s skill through long familiarity with his task.

Professor Bradley’s present account ends with 1843. There were then—or, rather, let us say in 1832—only 130,000 people on the islands. There are at least 365,000 nowadays. The half century extends from 1789, when the *Columbia* visited Hawaii, the first vessel to call there flying the flag of the United States, to the time when Hawaiian political independence was established. Captain Cook had discovered the islands in 1778, but destiny—and Yankee enterprise—made them an American frontier. By the year 1800 the majority of the vessels which could be found in Hawaiian ports—the chief port was Honolulu—flew the stars and stripes (*cf.* p. 13). Long before Americans had occupied their own West, before they had even come to know much about it, New England traders and missionaries linked Hawaii with America. The ties were made by sea, by voyages of several months’ duration out of Boston, New London, and New Haven (the *Mary Frazier* made a record run of only 116 days in 1837).

The eight chapters of the book deal successively with the earliest pioneers of many nationalities, including Russian traders and Spanish pirates; the growth and decline of trade in sandalwood; the establishment (1820 ff.) of religious and educational institutions by American Protestants, and the transformation—through activities of native chieftains, also—of Hawaiian religion; the effect on public policy of a predominant Puritanism, Hiram Bingham leading the “Puritans”; the growth of commerce through whaling, the fur trade (by extension from Oregon and the Pacific Coast), and trade in sugar and silk; the turbulent thirties out of which “an orderly and peaceable development of Hawaiian political and economic life” was to issue (p. 306); “The Great Revival,” a chapter exhibiting “the energy with which the missionaries [*i.e.*, the American Board staff] established schools and sought to diffuse religious and moral instruction” and to “make some substantial contribution to the material prosperity of the Hawaiian people” (p. 361); and the emergence of Hawaiian independence out of international rivalries and American direction. Mr. Bradley shows that “Hawaiian chiefs and commoners had welcomed all classes of foreigners to the Islands,” but that “the principal forces in the creation of the new Hawaiian kingdom had been the few score of American traders and missionaries” (p. 466). Ten companies of American Board missionaries had arrived before 1843. Many able merchants, also, had come in. The author’s main reliance is on biographical materials concerning these leaders, alien and native.

Bradley's book is timely as well as durable. Looking at the map inside his covers, we can say that Hawaii is more than ever "the Crossroads of the Pacific." Hawaii has been rediscovered; the islands are a *new* frontier. For occasions of recollection and of prospect the many who use this volume profitably will owe much to Professor Bradley and Stanford University.

Yale University

JOHN CLARK ARCHER

CHARLES WILLIAMSON, GENESEE PROMOTER—FRIEND OF ANGLO-AMERICAN RAPPROCHEMENT. By *Helen I. Cowan*. Edited under the Supervision of Dexter Perkins, City Historian. [The Rochester Historical Society Publications, XIX.] (Rochester: The Society. 1941. Pp. xiv, 356. \$4.00.)

THIS is a well-documented study of a less familiar phase of American expansion. Charles Williamson, who gives the volume its title, was no mere land speculator. On the contrary, his own sanguine temperament and boundless energy, his eminent patrons and numerous family connections, made him a gifted consultant in international affairs, the trusted confidant of leading statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic. Miss Cowan rightly devotes the major part of her work to the local field, but an occasional incident throughout her narrative and her final chapter suggest the wider aspects of Williamson's career.

The Pulteney ("Putney") Purchase represents a series of post-Revolution land deals in which the states of Massachusetts and New York and such eminent personages as Robert Morris and Sir William Johnstone Pulteney, not to mention a host of minor speculators, played the leading parts. The area, often referred to as the "Genesee Country," comprised more than a million acres of desirable land in western New York. Through such highly placed promoters as William S. Smith and William Temple Franklin, Sir William Pulteney was induced to invest in this tract, on which Morris had taken an option but for which he had not yet paid. Unfortunately the laws of New York did not then permit aliens to give title to lands. Hence foreign speculators must entrust the sales to an agent, who then became an American citizen and managed the property as if he were the actual owner. In this capacity Williamson, to the great concern of his principals, increased the original expense fourfold, but at the same time his roadways, bridges, hotels—not to mention such apparent extravagances as fairs, horse races, theaters, newspapers, and descriptive pamphlets—promoted the development of his own acreage and furthered sales for his immediate neighbors. Among these were Thomas Morris, Joseph Ellicott, Oliver Phelps, James Wadsworth, and other notable pioneers. In such company it was hardly likely that Williamson, who had Lord Melville as patron in his native Scotland and Robert Morris as chief adviser in the new land, not to mention fairly intimate dealings with Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, would play an inconspicuous part. Williamson soon established

a working colony on the disputed northern frontier and gave it an assured status in the controversies that centered around the Indian wars of the Northwest and the Jay Treaty. Its subsequent progress, despite careless methods and overambitious plans, rested on a secure basis of prosperity, in which his genuine sympathy for and ready aid to his purchasers were important factors. They acknowledged that he was an unusual type of promoter, but they profited too often from his genial vagaries to condemn his shortcomings. Nor did they fail to elect him to public office or forget his generosity when the sycophant Robert Troup succeeded him.

Miss Cowan gives no formal bibliography, but more than six hundred notes afford adequate references to her authorities. Among her manuscript sources the collections in Rochester and in the Newberry Library of Chicago are outstanding. These are supplemented by similar collections in Boston, Ottawa, Philadelphia, and Washington. Her printed sources are ample—among them contemporary travels and pamphlets. She makes extensive use of special monographs and of customary works of reference. She presents her result in a clear, well-knit, and readable narrative, any part of which is readily accessible through the index. Several portraits and maps illustrate the text. Perhaps the author's logic and local enthusiasm lead her to make the connection between this land speculation and contemporary business and politics too close and on too extensive a scale, but Williamson's associates were international figures, and his subsequent activities more than justified his earlier pretensions. The Rochester Historical Society, which furthered this publication, and Professor Dexter Perkins, who contributes the foreword, are to be congratulated on this addition to a worthy historical series. Certainly Miss Cowan is to be heartily commended for her scholarly performance.

Louisiana State University

ISAAC J. COX

NAVAL DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE UNITED STATES WARS WITH THE BARBARY POWERS. Prepared by the Office of Naval Records and Library Navy Department, under the Supervision of Captain *Dudley W. Knox*. Volume I, NAVAL OPERATIONS, INCLUDING DIPLOMATIC BACKGROUND, FROM 1785 THROUGH 1801. Volume II, JANUARY, 1802, THROUGH AUGUST, 1803. Volume III, SEPTEMBER, 1803, THROUGH MARCH, 1804. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1939; 1940; 1941. Pp. xi, 718; vii, 598; vii, 639. \$4.00 each.)

THIS fine companion piece to the recently published documents on the *Quasi-War with France* will interest readers in the fields of United States naval, military, and diplomatic history, early American trade, and biography. But perhaps the most unusual fact about these first three volumes in the series on the *Barbary Wars* is their timeliness. For their numerous observations on the character of the North African people and on the terrain, shore line, and weather conditions to be encountered in Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli these volumes might

profitably have been consulted by General Dwight Eisenhower and his military and naval colleagues in preparation for the current United Nations campaign.

Thanks to the painstaking scholarship of Gardner W. Allen the naval story covered by these documents is generally understood. The major events, now amplified and associated more intimately with diplomatic developments, are (in Volume I) the voyage of the U. S. S. *George Washington* from Algiers to Constantinople under compulsion by the dey of Algiers, the activities of Commodore Richard Dale, who commanded the first American squadron in the Mediterranean, the capture of the Tripolitan cruiser *Tripoli* by the U. S. schooner *Enterprise*; (in Volume II) the unsatisfactory handling of the second Mediterranean squadron by Commodore Richard Valentine Morris and the latter's suspension; (in Volume III) the commanding of the squadron by Commodore Edward Preble, the grounding of the U. S. frigate *Philadelphia* outside Tripoli Harbor and her capture by the Tripolitans, the capture of the Tripolitan ketch *Mastico* (renamed *Intrepid*), Preble's successful negotiation of peace with Morocco and his energetic blockade of Tripoli, and finally the famous boarding and burning of the *Philadelphia* in Tripoli Harbor by Stephen Decatur.

State Department correspondence, inserted chronologically throughout these volumes, betrays America's early ignorance of conditions in the Mediterranean and our utter want of any sort of practical policy for many years. When Algiers, strongest of the North African regencies, began its depredations on American commerce in 1786 by seizing an American merchantman and enslaving her crew, our State Department faced a dilemma. Should we follow the practices of small-navy powers of Europe by paying ransom and tribute, or should we make war? Unfortunately we had already discarded the remnants of our Revolutionary navy. We debated the alternatives for seven years, and when finally we decided to pay ransom and tribute as a temporary expedient, we decided also to build a navy. When the undeclared war with France (1798-1801) further postponed active operations in the Mediterranean, we made futile efforts through our ministers in England, France, and Russia to obtain relief from the caprices of the petty tyrants of Barbary. We made unsatisfactory treaties with each of the corsair powers and reluctantly dispatched tribute. Unwisely we hired as consular agents the cheapest men we could find: for Tunis, a Frenchman, at a time when trouble with France was brewing; and for Algiers, a ransomed American ship captain who had been the Algerian bashaw's slave for seven years!

Captain Dudley W. Knox and the editorial staff associated with him have gathered the documents in these volumes from widely scattered repositories, public and private. They have made a judicious selection and have preserved all idiosyncracies of spelling and punctuation. Illustrations and maps are included.

Annapolis, Maryland

RICHARD S. WEST, JR.

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Compiled and edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. Volume IX, THE TERRITORY OF ORLEANS, 1803-1812. [Publication No. 1529.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1940. Pp. ix, 1092. \$2.50.)

THIS is Volume IX of the series of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, being issued by the Department of State under the authority of an act of Congress, and it embodies the relevant official papers of the territory of Orleans, 1803-12, as found in the Federal archives at Washington. The scope of the present work is similar to that of the previous volumes of the series of which it is a part. The same principles of inclusion and exclusion are applied to the selection of documents in this volume as in earlier ones. Some elasticity with respect to categories of documents to which preference is to be given is essential, because each territory of the United States possessed, in addition to elements common to others, certain unique features.

The territory of Orleans evolved out of unique conditions upon the American continent. Many papers are therefore included which relate to the territory before it became a part of the United States. Since the government surveyor did not enter the territory until it was taken over on December 20, 1803, the earlier papers give valuable accounts of the land, its inhabitants, and its institutions.

The bulk of the volume is devoted to the affairs of the territory during the six administrations of Governor Claiborne, which lie between 1803 and 1812 inclusive. These papers supplement the *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1917), compiled by the late Dr. Dunbar Rowland. Because of this earlier publication, greater space is permitted in the present volume for other classes of papers. The military arrangements involving General Wilkinson claim much attention throughout, and the conflict between Governor Claiborne and Edward Livingston forms the subject of many papers.

Governor Claiborne wrote President Jefferson in 1805 that "there are a few discontented men here, who incessantly labour to keep the Territory in a state of Inquietude." The remark is a masterpiece of understatement. Discontent revealed throughout the papers extends from the greed of Americans bent upon the gratification of selfish interests to downright "fifth column" activity in behalf of the Spanish government. All the problems attending the settlement of a new country, complicated by the interests of nationals of Great Britain, France, and Spain, are touched upon as the volume unfolds. But the most important papers are those which deal with land claims and grants, the determination of boundaries, the clearing of titles, and the settlements with the Indians. These supply the historian with much fresh data.

This volume, like the others in the series, is supplied with an excellent index.

Princeton University

WILLIAM S. CARPENTER

THE RED RIVER VALLEY, 1811-1849: A REGIONAL STUDY. By *John Perry Pritchett*, Queens College of the City of New York. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. xvii, 295. \$2.75.)

ALTHOUGH there have been many studies of the Red River colony in what is now the regional area centered around Winnipeg, Canada, this is by far the best account thereof that has yet appeared. It is based upon an exhaustive survey of primary and secondary sources in Canadian and American libraries and includes also the results of the author's examination of the Selkirk Papers at St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, Scotland.

Professor Pritchett begins the story by a brief but excellent biographical summary of the early years of Thomas Douglas, fifth earl of Selkirk (1771-1820). Lord Selkirk, to use Editor James T. Shotwell's apt characterization, was a "remarkable man whose figure dominates the first phase of Red River Valley history." His youth and young manhood brought him varied and stimulating contacts with men like John Paul Jones, William Robertson, Adam Smith, Robert Burns, Dugald Stewart, and Walter Scott. He was a keen observer of such events as the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Irish rebellion of 1798, the Napoleonic Empire, and the emergent phenomena of industrialism. By the summer of 1808, when he first acquired a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company, Selkirk had made up his mind that a possible solution to the evils of all the events he had observed was a proprietary colony planted in the fertile areas of "Assiniboia," south of Lake Winnipeg.

On June 12, 1811, he secured title in fee simple to 116,000 square miles of land, including parts of present-day Manitoba, North Dakota, and Minnesota; and two weeks later the first colonists sailed from Great Britain. Not until August 30, 1812, after incredible labors over the seven-hundred-mile wilderness southwest of Hudson's Bay, did the settlers finally arrive at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, the heart of their colonial grant. The effort, however, had only begun. The rest of Professor Pritchett's volume is chiefly an account of the next fifteen years in the life of the Selkirk colony. Its kaleidoscopic ups and downs; its heartbreaking strife with the personnel of the Northwest Fur Company; its struggles with a savage environment, including cold, drought, floods, and insect plagues; its first contacts with the outthrust wedge of American settlement at Fort Snelling, Minnesota; Selkirk's own visit to his colony in 1817; and the slow development of successful settlements on the Red River—all these are analyzed in a style that is scholarly, lucid, and engrossing. There is a short concluding summary of the years from 1826 to 1849, by which time trade between Manitoba and Minnesota had been thoroughly established.

The first and the last chapters of the book, devoted to the valley of the Red River of the North in its permanent geographic and larger economic aspects, to-

gether with Professor Shotwell's introduction, are especially pertinent reading for any student interested in this portion of the Canadian-American boundary. Unimportant but regrettable are the misspellings in the bibliography of the names of Miranda and William Watts Folwell. Attractive end-maps, readable type, and good binding add to the book. Professor Pritchett has done his task so well that it is unlikely it will ever need to be done again.

Colby Junior College

J. DUANE SQUIRES

THE WRITINGS OF SAM HOUSTON, 1813-1863. Edited by *Amelia W. Williams* and *Eugene C. Barker*. Volume V, AUGUST 28, 1824-MARCH 14, 1854. Volume VI, JANUARY 30, 1828-FEBRUARY 25, 1858. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1941, 1942. Pp. xviii, 530; x, 529. \$3.25 each.)

WITH these two volumes the editors reach the point where the series was to end. Additional material, called forth by the publication of the earlier volumes, has so expanded the original plan that they now promise ten volumes instead of six.

The present offering covers the major part of Houston's senatorial career. No political tyro and armed with the prestige of an extensive territorial acquisition, he might conceivably aspire to fill a more exalted position than his earlier executive post. Of such ambition these volumes afford little direct evidence. There is scant mention of speaking engagements at widely scattered points, north and south, which may betoken mere popular interest in the picturesque Texan or admiration for his own sincere nationalism.

This major passion Houston proudly attributes to the precepts and practices of his beloved mentor, Andrew Jackson. It crops out on every possible occasion: when defending his vote and that of Benton in favor of organizing Oregon Territory without slavery; when attacking with equal bitterness Northern abolitionists and Southern disunionists; when enlightening Bostonians with respect to slavery or chiding South Carolinians for overemphasis of states rights; when repelling unwarranted charges (as he regards them) against Texas volunteers in the Mexican War or lamenting political anarchy in Kansas; when approving statehood for California or protesting against a similar boon for New Mexico. In this spirit he supported all the measures of the Compromise of 1850 and in the same spirit vainly lifted up his voice against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The same devotion to national unity led him to repudiate the Democratic party and oppose, albeit disclaiming a "Know Nothing" attitude, alien or ecclesiastic influences in affairs of state.

A second outstanding forensic trait is his readiness to speak in behalf of the Indian. This appears not merely in direct pleas for just treatment of his former red associates but in totally unexpected quarters: in discussing the defense or debts of Texas, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Monroe Doctrine, and especially

when considering legislation affecting the standing army. Houston favored the militia for general service and experienced rangers for the frontier. No others, he firmly and rightly maintained, could handle the Indians justly and successfully. Hence he scanned closely every appropriation for the regular army and bitterly criticized every proposal for increasing or promoting its personnel. For the naval establishment, too, he reserved on occasion a full measure of biting sarcasm. Perhaps his own experiences with certain unruly officers of the Texas army and navy, whose personal animosity still rose up to trouble him, may account for his attitude.

Houston was scarcely less zealous in his defense of Texas and her people, both on the floor of the Senate and in addresses in his own home state and elsewhere. In such efforts he frequently felt obliged to review his own past acts and utterances, when it seemed difficult to separate his personal career from state policy or to repress early resentments. This was especially true when Calhoun and others charged him with disloyalty to the South. He and his fellow Texans swung over to the American party in the middle of the decade, but he played no compelling part in the presidential election of 1856 and a year later failed to gain the governorship of Texas. Houston in a defensive role worked at a disadvantage. Brief missives to his wife and children reveal strong domestic affection and a growing desire for temporal comfort and spiritual peace; but there is no letup in his devotion to state and national interests.

For the subject matter of these volumes the editors draw heavily on the *Congressional Globe* and inadequate newspaper reports. While their work is restricted to Houston's own writings, one wishes for more extracts from the notes of his correspondents to complete the obscure references. These footnotes, as usual, are mostly restricted to definite source references and to brief biographical details. Few of the state and national leaders mentioned call for extensive personal sketches; the separate selections grow in average length while the calendars become shorter. We await with interest the later volumes that will tell the tale of temporary political recovery and of ultimate eclipse for this belated exponent of Jacksonian democracy.

Louisiana State University

ISAAC J. COX

THE COMING OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Avery Craven*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. ix, 491. \$3.75.)

Now that "maturity of judgment has . . . been achieved in this field," Professor Craven has apparently retreated from his hope of 1937 that no more textbooks on the history of the South would ever be written. His familiar story, embellished by many new illustrations, comes very near being a history of the ante-bellum South. His overemphasis on the Southern scene is a natural outcome of his approach. He largely ignores all causes of the war except uncalled-for attacks on slavery, the

raising (by "fanatics") of a moral issue, the gratuitous injection of the matter into politics, and the Southern defense of an English-country-gentleman way of life. The person who sets out to defend slavery must not examine too closely how that system weakened the section that maintained it, thus making the cotton belt an easy prey to subjugation. The author rightly points out the hard lot of prewar Northern and postwar Southern laborers. But this argument might well be carried on to a study of the extent of labor exploitation and its relation to the prosperity of peoples that indulge in it.

The author suggests that he followed the scientific approach, and warns readers against accusations of a Southern bias. Nevertheless (to take just one of many examples), he seems rather naïve in his defense of the beginnings of slavery on the hoary arguments that the South could be developed in no other way; that the Negro benefited through Christianization and civilization; and that the Negro could thrive under climatic and labor conditions that would kill white men. The climate and hard-labor theme might well be examined in the light of the comments (among others) of Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana*, page 90 ff.

Scientific writing implies, among other things, precision, but the lack of this quality is the greatest weakness of the book. The reviewer checked only those blunders that struck the eye like flying cinders, but their numbers assumed the proportions of a dust storm. Ten quotations were tested, in the vain hope of finding just one free of errors. Sometimes the unindicated alterations reached the rate of five in four lines (p. 275), or twelve on half a page (p. 220). In the latter instance, the paragraph ends with a paraphrase attributed to Polk's *Diary* of January 4, 1847, which is not in the entry for that day. Sometimes the errors are trivial, and again they change the meaning, as on page 50. The worst example is an apparently fictitious quotation from the late F. H. Hodder, which does violence to that scholar's understanding of the Dred Scott case (p. 384). The supposed quotation is a partial paraphrase of what Hodder had to say about Justice Nelson's opinion, the last seven words of the forty-four being verbatim. But Hodder contradicts Craven's version that this was the *court's* verdict. Craven definitely states that the quotation is from Hodder's article in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1929. The quotation is not there, and it is doubtful that so careful a student as Hodder ever made so gross an error on this subject elsewhere. Various paraphrases, without quotation marks, are about as faithful to the sources as the avowed excerpts. A quotation on pages 227-28 is repeated in the backnotes, and with two unacknowledged alterations. Page references in the notes are frequently missing and occasionally faulty. Note 20 for page 398 is a hundred pages off. Sometimes whole chapters or a series of volumes are cited for a single bit of information. Page 187, note 16, gives three volumes by two authors, on Texas-American relations, as evidence on a point in Oregon history. The reviewer volunteers the information that the anonymous author of the

article cited in note 1 of chapter 17 was Craven's old master, William E. Dodd.

Loose, inaccurate generalizations abound. From 1820 to 1860, in the United States, "Population doubled in every decade" (p. 3; he would have a population of over 154,000,000 by 1860). "They were a sweaty people, that generation [1820-1860, a pretty long generation]. They not only broke a hundred thousand acres to the plow [a little over four townships; a hundred million acres would be more accurate] but produced . . . ten million bales of cotton [seventy million is a fair approximation], a billion bushels of wheat [over three billion, to be more precise], and nearly two billion bushels of corn [the census shows about twelve billion bushels, 1840-1860 alone]" (pp. 3-4). As he exemplifies the "generation," it was chilly, not "sweaty." Again, the "astonishing" cotton crop of over 2,300,000,000 pounds (p. 110) is not dated. Since this record was not achieved till fifteen years after secession, why not mention the *truly* astonishing figure of nearly nine billion pounds in 1926, or over nine billion in 1937? The putting of a "protective tariff" into the Free-Soil platform of 1848 (p. 238) goes beyond the wording of that document. The paragraph on McCulloch vs. Maryland, etc. (p. 47), could be corrected by a good high-school student. Many other examples are available.

Proper names are sometimes confused: William Harper and Chancellor Harper become two individuals in the index; Representative Arthur Livermore is called Senator Livermore; there is uncertainty between James B. and James G. Birney, B. given the preference; and Giddings is referred to both as Joshua and Josiah. There are also a considerable number of ambiguities, contradictions, and inconsistencies. Numerous spellings are archaic, obsolescent, or second-choice; and a few barbarisms are introduced. A knowledge of recent developments in soil science would cause the amendment of certain judgments. Also, a modernized agricultural nomenclature is needed. The term "agriculturalist," frequently used by the author, was avoided even by John Taylor, though attributed to him on page 45. There are some jarring idiosyncracies of style, though the language is usually smooth and graceful—enlivened by a limited amount of slang and colloquialism. Not more than a dozen palpably typographical errors were noted. The strangest is "disolation" (p. 46, imputed to John Taylor), and the most amusing is "indiscrete [compact?] friends" (p. 377).

To use the researches of students, as Craven admits he has done, is wholly justifiable when thus acknowledged, but experience has shown that such findings need careful checking. The volume under review, if given a competent revision, would become a valuable source book on the sectional emotionalism, imprecation, and invective of the prewar years. It is to this phase of the pre-Civil War years that it makes its contribution.

University of Illinois

FRED A. SHANNON

NORTHERN EDITORIALS ON SECESSION. Edited by *Howard Cecil Perkins*, Bradley Polytechnic Institute. [The American Historical Association.] Two volumes. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1942. Pp. xxxiv, 538, xxvi; xxviii, 539-1107, xxvi. \$10.00.)

THESE two fat volumes contain 495 editorials selected from the files of 800 newspapers scattered among 140 libraries and newspaper offices in seventeen Northern states and the District of Columbia. The editorials reproduced here were culled from approximately five thousand editorials which in turn were chosen from the one hundred thousand editorials originally examined. All were taken exclusively from the English language press. Trade, professional, and religious papers have been excluded. Moreover, with the exception of a single editorial from a rare issue of James Redpath's *Pine and Palm*, nothing was selected from out-and-out abolitionist sheets.

In the process of selection Dr. Perkins wisely endeavored to obtain as representative a cross section of public opinion as was possible of a time when personal journalism was in its heyday. Not only has he drawn his material from the editorial columns of large urban papers but from those of lesser communities, which in all probability were more representative of the United States of 1860 than the large metropolitan dailies. In fact, the editorials here presented are, with few exceptions, apportioned among the states on the basis of distribution of population as indicated by the census of 1860 and among parties in the ratio of distribution of the popular vote in the presidential election of that year. The overrepresentation of the Breckinridge press at the expense of the Douglas press is accounted for by the situation that prevailed in the New York metropolitan area. In this connection it is worth noting, as the editor points out, that during the secession months, September, 1860-June, 1861, the Republican journals in the Northern states outnumbered those of the combined opposition.

The editorials are arranged chronologically under twenty-seven subjects or titles, such as "The Campaign of 1860," "Secession: Right or Revolution?" "Measures for Peace," "The Everlasting Negro," "Post-Sumter Pleas for Peace," "Objects of the War," etcetera. Instead of introducing each subject with a brief summary statement the editor has chosen—and again wisely it seems to this reviewer—to gather these summations together in the concluding pages of his very helpful introduction, in which he discusses the politics of the secession crisis and describes the Northern press of the period. Every effort has been made to present the editorials as they appeared originally. Consequently, older forms of spelling and punctuation have been retained. Where the editor has deemed it necessary, explanatory footnotes have been inserted. The usefulness of this publication is enhanced by the inclusion of a newspaper index which lists geographically the editorials selected and gives the names of the editors and other persons associated with each paper at the time. Information on name changes, mergers, and suspensions within the period is also included in this index.

No one can scan these editorials without realizing that many of them were purely propagandistic and that those who wrote them were apparently motivated more by emotion than by reason and clear-headedness.

Like its companion, *Southern Editorials on Secession*, this book is published under the auspices of the Beveridge Memorial Fund of the American Historical Association. It is a worthy addition to its predecessors, and Dr. Perkins has placed every student of American civilization and particularly those interested in the struggle between the North and the South in his debt.

Columbia University

HARRY J. CARMAN

LINCOLN AND HIS PARTY IN THE SECESSION CRISIS. By *David M. Potter*, Assistant Professor of History, Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor, Studies, XIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 408. \$3.75.)

THIS admirable study ought to suggest to historians that other supposedly exhausted fields might repay cultivation. The tools indicated are careful research, a high degree of objectivity, and above all a keen historical imagination. After suggesting why previous investigations have fallen short, the book develops along a simple and well-integrated theme. The victorious Republican party of 1860 is pictured as a minority organization, made up of mutually suspicious factions. Because of its previous attitude as an opposition party, it lacked a responsible policy in regard to sectional controversy, and it was self-convinced that secession was bluff. Consequently it was unprepared for the reality of secession, and its members were left milling around emitting confused noises. In this situation the President-elect, holding to a partially justified belief in the pro-Union sentiments of a majority of the Southern people, formulated a policy of purposeful non-action. He rejected compromise as likely only to inflate the prestige and strengthen the hands of the secessionists. Instead, he determined to preserve the *status quo* until excitement should die down and the Southern majority be given time to assert itself and, assisted by the border states, bring back the seceded states to the Union. Convinced after one or two false starts that he could not operate openly, Lincoln hit upon the device of using Seward as his Washington deputy. The core of the book is devoted to tracing Seward's skillful moves in carrying out this policy. Successful up to the time of the inauguration, it began thereafter to deteriorate. Failure in the end came because Lincoln and his party misunderstood the nature of Southern unionism and, more immediately, had been kept ignorant of the limited supplies in the hands of Major Anderson at Fort Sumter.

This interpretation is developed with a deft, professional skill. Lines of clearly defined reasoning are tied together with sentences that rise fittingly to the climax of the thought. The information on the jacket of the book that the author is of Southern origin could not be deduced from what lies between its covers. Published

works and printed documents have been fully used, and available collections of manuscript correspondence have been drawn upon to an extent that is representative if not exhaustive, but Midwestern newspapers have been neglected. Is not, however, a further refinement of the thesis possible, even necessary? May not Lincoln all along have had at the back of his mind an alternative or reserve policy in case conciliation should fail? Statements made to his political intimates suggest that he may have realized that in the final analysis war might be necessary, that certainly the government of the nation could not continue to function under a recurrent form of sectional blackmail. Into this hypothesis can be fitted certain evidence which the author seems to turn over in his hands and then lay aside, as well as additional evidence to which he does not refer. It would help to explain the divergence of Lincoln and Seward after the inauguration. It would, finally, be consistent with what seems to me to have been a fundamental trait of Lincoln's mind, to have a hidden line of thought of which we are able to get only tantalizing glimpses—such as Arthur C. Cole found suggested by his "House Divided" speech and such as we can discern in his campaign for re-election and his far-reaching plans for Reconstruction. But, whatever may be the answer to this question, Mr. Potter has solidly established his basic interpretation by expert and honest craftsmanship.

George Washington University

WOOD GRAY

LEE'S LIEUTENANTS: A STUDY IN COMMAND. By *Douglas Southall Freeman*. Volume I, MANASSAS TO MALVERN HILL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. lvi, 773. \$5.00.)

WHEN Dr. Freeman wrote *R. E. Lee*, he brought to American military history a contribution of primary importance, a gift of methodology sorely needed. For his task he summoned the faculty of one who has studied and understood military operations, along with that of the professional historian trained in the procedures of research and the synthesis of evidence produced thereby. Thus, for a rare instance, did the trained academic scholar and the devotee of military affairs combine to apply the joint gifts in writing military history with a clear and truth-thirsty mind. *R. E. Lee* stands as a grateful relief in an age of revived interest in the American Civil War. A startling number of sound scholars in political history have made excursions into the military sphere without carrying along the professional methods which they were accustomed to applying. A number of good military men have recorded events they could understand, but for the establishment of evidence for which they were not trained. Hence a welter of books readable and salable but not too sound, a brood eloquently pleading for an unmincing protest in some learned journal. Much has been "got away with" in the name of military history. Dr. Freeman's *Lee* was a radiant exception, a model of how. *Lee's Lieutenants* continues the same high tradition, for which thanks may

well be rendered by those concerned with the purveyance of truth. These two books, aside from their numerous other merits, will stand as important road marks in military historiography. Truly the history of the American Civil War is beginning to be written.

One cannot discuss this book without continual reference to *R. E. Lee*. And one should not, for this is the logical continuation of the biography of the gray commander. This is the study of the human instruments Lee employed and the method of employment; this volume and the two to follow will constitute the great second chapter of the history of the Army of Northern Virginia. It completes the analysis of the high command. The two works together, by the highly developed art of the author, intrinsically constitute a quite adequate analysis of the subordinate personnel and the *esprit* of that eternally estimable A. N. V. Perhaps the other chapters will follow: supply, ordnance, transport, materiel, administration, training, fortification. Thus it will be that *R. E. Lee* did not represent diversion of the author's original aspiration of thirty years ago to write a history of the Army of Northern Virginia. It meant doing the logical first chapter, the study of its great commander.

The first volume of the *Lieutenants* is further, if superfluous, evidence that Dr. Freeman's thirty years have been well invested. *Lee's Lieutenants*, needless to say, is not the product of the seven years since *R. E. Lee*; it was in the making all the while with the *Lee*. Only such decades of research, at once comprehensive and intensive, could produce such a book.

Volume I presents the problem of procuring and organizing the high command of a brand new army; it reviews the material available for command; and with economy of word and method it traces the development of a corps of general officers through its adolescence. As explained in the foreword, the story and the theme are given priority; the individual is important as he contributes to them. Consequently the book is not merely a series of individual biographies but a narrative of the practice of high command in which each practitioner is studied with an eye clear and critical, but alight with sympathetic understanding. Thorough but unobtrusive documentation and valuable appendixes bolster the convincing power of the book (running down citations in the Official Records and elsewhere reveals a delightfully honest and judicious interpretation of evidence).

Individuals enter, remain prominent for a moment, but find "battle a betrayer of reputations" and make their exits with varying degrees of grace. Others enter in major roles and, having "heroic composure," remain to the end. And still others come on as minor actors, learn from the masters and the play, and show great promise which will be tested in months and battles to come. So it is in all wars, and so it is well to have it studied in this one. Widely read and heeded, this book would do the nation great good. It records well what may be expected in any large country attempting to gird suddenly for war in any era. All the facets

are presented in a realistic, but no scandalmongering, manner: the politics, the individual incompetence combined with colossal conceit, the personal jealousies with tragic results, the fatal power of a personal shortcoming to prevent fruitful exercise of great talents, magnificent courage and loyalty combined with competence in some, selfishness and cowardice and innocent vainglory in others. There is no tendency to cloak the sickening waste of fine young lives and scarce wealth through incompetence and absence of staff organization. The Confederacy was an accumulation of human beings, with perhaps an excess of individualistic impulses, and to organize its young manhood into a well-led army—there's the problem, and indeed the problem that sooner or later, often or seldom, faces any surviving nation. Therefore Dr. Freeman has rendered a meritorious service in writing this book. Therefore, and because he has written also an intensely interesting and charming narrative, a human record such as most intelligent human beings like to read. What use his people make of this book is no matter related to the author's service in writing it. His contribution to American scholarship is great. The appearance of Volume I of *Lee's Lieutenants* makes one regret that the three volumes are not published simultaneously; readers will wait impatiently for Volumes II and III.

It is regrettable that the physical dress of the book is not in keeping with the excellence of its contents.

Charlottesville, Virginia

BRANCH SPALDING

PEMBERTON, DEFENDER OF VICKSBURG. By *John C. Pemberton*. With a Foreword by Douglas Southall Freeman. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 350. \$3.50.)

THIS book deals with the career of the author's grandfather, Lieutenant General John Clifford Pemberton, who surrendered Vicksburg to U. S. Grant. Mr. Pemberton has inherited the natural family feeling that the general has been done an injustice by military historians of the Civil War. The author possesses his relative's unpublished papers, and Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman urged him to make use of them in a new work on Pemberton. In doing so, he has employed the general's justifications of his course quite skillfully, and without too pronounced a filiopietistic flavor. Mr. Pemberton's own military experience with the A.E.F.—he was wounded in the Argonne—and his career as a New York lawyer and writer of legal articles aided his understanding of the military problems and his presentation of the case for the general. The volume is particularly pleasing in its picture of the way Pemberton accepted his disaster with manly regret and of his efforts after Appomattox to heal the wounds of war. On the main point, however, that he was a great general in the Vicksburg campaign, Mr. Pemberton's evidence and argument do not seem to me convincing.

This does not mean that historians have accorded the defeated general his

just deserts. While of Northern birth, Pemberton formed a warm attachment for Jefferson Davis when the latter was Secretary of War in the Pierce administration. Upon secession, Pemberton resigned from the United States Army and went with Davis. The Confederate President promoted him rapidly, late in 1862, appointed him to the Vicksburg command, and he came to be known as "one of Jeff Davis's pets."

Early in 1863, when the Grant-Sherman menace to Vicksburg began to disclose itself, Davis started a stream of telegrams to Johnston, whose abilities Davis never recognized and to whom he gave far too little authority in the West. Davis insisted that something be done about it. The general soon divined the Federal purpose and sought to organize Confederate forces to thwart it. He tried to bring troops from Arkansas to strengthen Pemberton, but Holmes, the commander west of the Mississippi, evaded, delayed, and sent no troops. Davis could have forced compliance, but, instead, suggested getting reinforcements by gathering convalescents, home guards, and coast defense units from Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, and by transferring fighting brigades from General Bragg. The net of the effort was a pittance of about ten thousand men.

The department commander was discouraged but not dismayed. He shifted his headquarters to Jackson, the Mississippi capital, and endeavored to draw together a new field army to threaten Grant. Johnston insisted that Pemberton keep uncommitted, retain freedom of movement, and not be forced into Vicksburg and have to stand a siege.

Unfortunately, Davis' Vicksburg commandant resented Johnston about as much as Davis did and was unwilling to obey any Johnston order he could misinterpret, claim not to have received, or allege to be impossible to carry out. The outcome of this incompatibility on the spot was non-compliance with Johnston's general plans, Pemberton's brave but futile field struggle, and then his withdrawal into the city of Vicksburg. This foredoomed surrender. On July 2 Pemberton sent a flag of truce; the next day the terms were agreed; on July 4 his men paraded before their captors. On July 6, paroled and marching East, the men mobbed their brave, obstinate, jealous general. It took many sword slashes by his not-too-enthusiastic staff officers to keep Johnny Pemberton from being hanged to a sour apple tree.

The averted lynching, of course, would have been outrageous. Pemberton was a brave man, a Confederate by choice and not geographic accident. Following his exchange, he voluntarily dropped his rank of general and served as a lieutenant colonel of artillery under Beauregard around Petersburg and Bermuda Hundreds. He did not fear to hazard his life nor refuse to dare it for the Confederate cause. In no sense had he betrayed his oath. But he was no proper commanding general. And in war there is no substitute for success.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE FORT MILTON

THE WALDENSES IN THE NEW WORLD. By *George B. Watts*. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 309. \$3.50.)

EVEN before the publication of Whittier's poem "The Vaudois Teacher," a pious legend had colored the history of the pre-Reformation dissenters who gathered around Peter Waldo of Lyons at the end of the twelfth century. They were increased by several groups of "heretics" until they joined the Reformation, and through almost eight hundred years of atrocious persecutions have managed to survive as a cultural and religious entity, counting today 22,000 people located in the valleys of the Cottian Alps, on a territory less than three hundred square miles in extent. Quite judiciously the author has limited to a minimum the survey of the European background and has centered his investigation on the development of the Waldensian emigration to the New World (pp. 1-16). Two distinct periods are recognized. During the first one, extending through the seventeenth century to the first third of the eighteenth, the Waldenses sought in America a refuge against religious persecution. They came isolated or in small groups, mingling with other Protestant refugees to such a degree as to make their identification often hypothetical. Some of them are alleged to have settled on Staten Island; more certainly they were part of the immigrants who established themselves on the lands of the extinct Manakin tribe of Indians in Virginia. They are found in South Carolina, on the Santee River, and even in Georgia, around 1733. After an interruption of over a century the emigration was resumed, shortly after they were granted freedom of conscience and worship (1847), this time because of economic considerations. Some settled in Uruguay. Following a campaign of evangelization conducted by Mormon missionaries, an important group of new converts migrated to Utah in 1856, a curious and tragic episode, since 250 Waldenses out of 576 died on the way. One by one Mr. Watts has located smaller groups and even isolated individuals, from New York, where two churches maintained by the Waldenses are still in existence, to California, where some of the Uruguay, Missouri, and Texas immigrants finally drifted. A survey of the settlement of Valdese, North Carolina, forms the center of the book (pp. 79-162). Started in 1893, with a few families, it had grown in 1940 into a town of 2,615 inhabitants, from a struggling and purely agricultural, communistic, and co-operative undertaking into a manufacturing center with two relatively important mills, from a foreign settlement in which a foreign language was exclusively spoken into an American town where English had become the language of everyday life and even the language of the church. The author has carefully gathered all the obtainable data, even to the lists of Waldenses living in different states, so far as they can be identified. It is unlikely that much could be added to this painstaking and sober study. One might wish, however, that, without venturing on too hazardous ground, he had brought together the more significant aspects of the late immigration.

The foundation of Valdeese was the outcome of long planning; the immigrants were well received by the local authorities, perhaps owing to the fact that they constituted a strongly organized group under the real leadership of their minister; they had come to stay, and, although remaining sentimentally attached to their native valleys, they never entertained any design of going back to "the old country"; finally, it does not seem that any effort was made at any time to Americanize them, and yet the first naturalizations took place only two years after their arrival; others rapidly followed and the newcomers early developed a public spirit which enabled them soon to take part in local and state governments. The fact that ever since 1828 the Waldenses had received, at home, assistance from the American Protestants (chapter XII, "American Co-operation") and in a way had been adopted even before their arrival may explain in part how, while treasuring their religious lore, they were never considered as a "minority group." It is to be hoped that in a further and perhaps shorter study the author will more fully discuss the questions raised by an "experiment" which deserves careful consideration on the part of investigators interested in the problems of Americanization.

Princeton University

GILBERT CHINARD

INDEPENDENT VERMONT. By *Charles Miner Thompson*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1942. Pp. xv, 574. \$4.50.)

BEFORE the days of book wagons and modern traveling libraries, many a Vermont lad's recreational reading consisted of two books, which were quite likely to be found on the bookshelf in most Vermont homes: Zadock Thompson's *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil, and Statistical*, and Judge D. P. Thompson's *The Green Mountain Boys*, both of them published originally over a hundred years ago. It is doubtful if the posthumous book of Judge Thompson's grandson, Charles Miner Thompson, will take its place beside them, for it has not the popular appeal of the thriller *The Green Mountain Boys*, nor is it a general handbook, natural and civil, such as *Thompson's Vermont*. Yet it is a book which all serious students of Vermont history will want to read and own and place beside Wardner's *The Birthplace of Vermont* (New York, 1927), J. B. Wilbur's *Ira Allen* (2 vols., Boston, 1928), John Pell's *Ethan Allen* (Boston, 1929), and Matt B. Jones's *Vermont in the Making, 1750-1777* (Cambridge, 1939), as well as, for "collateral reading," E. P. Alexander's *A Revolutionary Conservative: James Duane of New York* (New York, 1938) and D. R. Fox's *Yankees and Yorkers* (New York, 1940). These seven books all deal, in whole or in part, with the vexed problem of the New Hampshire grants (1760-77), the republic of Vermont (1777-91), and the part which those crafty, shrewd, land-grabbing, gambling Yankees, the Allen brothers, played in its establishment. Wardner's book deals largely with the period as seen in the building of the town of Windsor, one of the "eastern townships" on the Connecticut River, and is an intelligently written narrative history. Wilbur's life of the calculating, smooth Ira Allen is quite

unreadable but so packed with documentary material that it cannot be ignored. Based upon the great mass of documents which the author collected and gave to the University of Vermont, the work will be superseded if a calendar of the MSS. in the Wilbur Library is published. John Pell's rollicking life of the boisterous Ethan Allen will stand for many years as the standard biography of the picturesque "hero" of Ticonderoga and the less obvious land speculator. Matt Jones's book, the work of a lawyer trained and thoroughly accustomed to weighing and evaluating legal documents, must always stand as a valuable contribution to the solution of the problem of the grants, although some will question his using the United States Supreme Court decision of 1933 as the final word on the validity of grants made by Benning Wentworth 170 years before.

Mr. Thompson's book is the work of a man who was saturated with Vermont history from childhood. The last few years of his long life—he was seventy-seven when he died in 1941—were spent arranging his notes on the history of his beloved state, sifting, winnowing, and weighing them and finally organizing them. The result is a long, somewhat uneven book, filled with meat—the thoughtful and carefully considered conclusions of an able man. Mr. Thompson sides with the modern school of Vermont historians, who insist upon presenting the Allen brothers in what is now generally believed to be their true light: a pair (for the other three, Heman, Zimri, and Levi, are generally ignored) of land speculators who were intent upon saving their vast tracts of land—acquired by means fair or more or less devious—and but incidentally interested in the welfare of the thousands of settlers who had flocked into the territory now known as Vermont after it became safe for settlement at the close of the French and Indian Wars. Ethan, the big, hearty, hard-drinking, blustering bluffer and bully; and Ira, the smooth, sleek, cat-like, calculating, shrewd puppet master who sat behind the curtain and pulled the strings and doubtless furnished the brains for some of Ethan's more spectacular appearances and utterances. Yet Mr. Thompson has a but partially concealed admiration for the Allens—who doesn't, except, perhaps, a dyed-in-the-wool Yorker? They won their game from the New York gang and saved their own necks, their land, and, as a nice corollary, the lands of thousands of poverty-stricken settlers who had purchased New Hampshire grants in good faith, settled upon them, cleared and improved them.

Mr. Thompson's book will disappoint the academic historian. There are no footnotes, very few references to sources, and, aside from a brief bibliography, none of the apparatus of scholarship. Yet it has the ring of authentic history, and contains, praise be, a good index.

University of Wisconsin

GILBERT H. DOANE

COW COUNTRY. By *Edward Everett Dale*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 265. \$2.75.)

HIGH BORDER COUNTRY. By *Eric Thane*. Edited by *Erskine Caldwell*. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1942. Pp. ix, 335. \$3.00.)

EDWARD EVERETT Dale has produced in *Cow Country* an extremely readable and accurate volume on the Great Plains cattle era which gives as true a perspective of that phase of our national life as any book offered to the general reader. The story begins with the Texan returning from the Civil War to seek a market for his tough longhorn cattle, and it continues with accounts of the trailing northward of the Texas herds, the establishment of stock raising on the northern ranges, the expansion of the industry, its relation to our domestic and foreign trade, the influence of foreign investments on it, and the crash of the range cattle empire following the winter of 1886-87. Throughout the recitation of the salient facts of the rise and fall of this brief twenty-year empire, Professor Dale stresses the social-economic conflict between the ways of life typified by the cowboy and the nester, from the time when the free and easy Texas herder and the sober Kansas farmer first viewed each other with mutual contempt and dislike, fostered alike by conflicting economic interests and divergent mores. The author exhibits a natural sympathy for the cattleman and cowboy. If the author's sympathies are with the cattleman, his judgments are sound, as he shows clearly how the antagonism of the homesteaders was aroused by the sight of wealthy men, in many cases misunderstood foreigners controlling and even fencing huge areas of the public domain. The author knows best the history of the southern and central plains and has weighed the contents of this volume somewhat in favor of those sections. Greater emphasis on the Wyoming ranges, where the cattlemen suffered slight opposition until after the collapse of the cattle boom, or on the northern Montana ranges, where the line between cattleman and homesteader was usually slight, would have shown more clearly that the economic factors of overburdened ranges, falling prices, poor financing, and hard weather ended the range cattle boom before the inevitable agricultural advance could deliver a fatal blow.

In addition to the history of the development of the cow country, this book includes excellent descriptive material on the cowboy and a chapter on his humor. In a reserved and unexaggerated manner anecdotes are set forth that characterize the average cow hand. Instead of merely popularizing the material, they add to a true understanding of the historical prototypes of our latter-day cowboy. The lack of notes and bibliography will limit this book's usefulness to students of the subject; but the author has taken no liberties with history, has interpreted his subject soundly, and has so carefully avoided any of the flamboyant exaggerations common to many writers on the cow country that his latest work carries authority and distinction.

Eric Thane's *High Border Country* adds another region to its publisher's series on American Folkways. The area covered includes the Great Plains of the Dakotas, Montana, and northern Wyoming, and the mountain region of Montana and the Idaho Panhandle. The material consists of illuminating tales and short

sketches of High Border Country life from the day of the early mountain trapper down to the Dempsey-Gibbons fight, the Fort Peck Dam, and the brief, but well-publicized, career of Earl Durand, labeled "Tarzan" by the press, who ran amuck in northern Wyoming in 1939.

The purpose of this volume is to characterize the High Border Country and its people through brief, vivid accounts of men and events—roistering and lusty. The author knows his country and its people well, but he does not always feel the necessity of accuracy in detail if the main point is brought home. The text is filled with quoted conversations, the style is breezy, the material spectacular; the result, a series of rousing, picturesque tales of the more sensational phases of the region's life. Mountain men, river men, Indians, soldiers, miners, cowboys, march in a pageant of High Border history. The day-by-day development and the average citizen yield space to the boom town and the bad man, especially of Montana, which, with its varied and vivid history, receives a large share of the contents of this volume. Hugh Glass, the mountaineer, Johnny Healy, the whiskey trader and sheriff, Calamity Jane, copper miner F. Augustus Heinze, and many another frontier personality are exposed in the essence of their characters. Details vary in their accuracy. The author has not written a history. He has described a people. If at times the portrait runs to caricature, it is to emphasize that they were a lusty folk that tamed the High Border Country, source of the "wild Mizzourye."

Salt Lake City, Utah

WALCOTT WATSON

THIRTY-FIRST STAR. By *James A. B. Scherer*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1942. Pp. xiii, 371. \$3.50.)

THIS book is a composite of Bertha Clay melodrama and Edgar Wallace thriller. Jessie Benton Frémont is the omnipresent heroine of the melodrama, while her husband, Colonel Frémont, surrounds himself with mystery and furnishes most of the thrills. Jessie's father, Senator Benton, functions both as producer and director; other statesmen are allotted minor parts, and California furnishes part of the scenery.

There is nothing in this volume to indicate that its author has made a serious study of easily available materials of the national history of the period covered. For example, he asserts on page 77 that the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was still before the Senate at the time of Polk's inauguration, although it had been ratified two years before Polk had been elected, and it did not apply to either Oregon or California.

Instead of utilizing accessible information, the author prefers to rely upon conjectures and to find mystery in events which are clear to those who have consulted the sources. He conjectures plots hatched by statesmen (pp. 17, 75-76), including Calhoun, Jackson, Benton, Buchanan, and the "hand-picked president," Polk, all men who thoroughly distrusted each other. Polk even feared that Benton

and Calhoun would defeat the bill to appropriate money to finance the war against Mexico.

Although students of his administration regard President Polk as an able executive, Mr. Scherer accepts the opinion of Benton and the Whigs that he was a puppet who was manipulated by able conspirators. He calls Polk a "chess-player" (in diplomacy), and he unintentionally convicts him of being a kidnaper by stating that Mrs. Polk was "only eighteen" at the time of her husband's inauguration, although the President had married her more than twenty years earlier!

Mr. Scherer adopts the Benton view that Frémont was persecuted by General Stephen W. Kearny. But the President selected Kearny to lead a military expedition to California, and his authority was real, while Frémont's authority was based on mysterious and nebulous "instructions" extracted from communications brought to him by Lieutenant Gillespie. Frémont admitted that this messenger had brought him no definite instructions to precipitate a revolution, and two significant letters, written on May 24, 1846, indicate that at the time he had no intention of doing so. To Benton he wrote: "I shall proceed directly homewards by the Colorado." "He now goes home from here," said Gillespie when speaking of Frémont in a letter to Larkin of the same date. Mr. Scherer quotes from both Frémont's *Memoirs* and the Larkin Papers, where the letters may be found, but he does not mention these letters.

Concerning Buchanan's instructions to Consul Larkin, a copy of which Gillespie showed to Frémont, Mr. Scherer writes:

Obviously, the President and the Secretary of State . . . expected the explorer not only to read it very carefully, but to read between the lines, and to extract from its verbosity the essential message and to act accordingly; while at the same time they wove, with many qualifying phrases, a pretty effective alibi for themselves in case anything went wrong (p. 97).

The instructions were perfectly clear, and it requires genius to extract from words the opposite of their normal meaning. It is unnecessary to seek authority for the explorer's actions when we remember that he was the same Frémont who officiously issued his emancipation proclamation in 1861 and who defiantly refused to rescind it until *ordered* to do so by President Lincoln.

The volume is written in a rather entertaining style. Persons who like to imbibe their history from motion pictures may enjoy reading it. In neither case, however, should they feel that they have received accurate knowledge of the subject or the period covered.

University of California

E. I. McCORMAC

J. STERLING MORTON. By *James C. Olson*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 451. \$3.50.)

THE present biography perhaps might best be described as the life record of a man who habitually said what he thought and did what he believed to be right,

without evasion or equivocation of any kind. It fell to my lot, in the first stage of my public career in Washington, to meet him through my official chief, Thomas Francis Bayard, then Secretary of State, whose political creed and high conceptions of public service he fully shared.

J. Sterling Morton was born in northern New York, in 1832, of Scotch and New England ancestry, but his father soon migrated to Michigan, where Lewis Cass, soldier, statesman, and diplomat, then in the early stage of his career, was the dominant figure. Here, at the age of fourteen, Morton was matriculated as a student at Wesleyan Seminary, in the village of Albion. But on October 30, 1854, he married Caroline Joy French, and on the same day they set out for their future home. On their arrival in Bellevue, Nebraska, the best shelter they could find was a log cabin; but among their nearest neighbors were persons who had already achieved distinction, and the Mortons were received as a desirable acquisition. In politics Morton was a reformer of the type that believes that progress is to be made by conservation as well as by eradication. He was a radical only for righteousness. He became a journalist and politician and also a farmer. He believed in the conservation of political and social institutions as well as of the soil. In this way he quickly became a territorial leader, and from 1858, when he was twenty-six years old, until 1861 he was secretary of Nebraska, and from time to time acting governor. As he maintained throughout the Civil War his allegiance to the Democratic party, he did not then politically prosper; but, both as a contributor to the press and a farmer and also as a charter member of the State Board of Agriculture, he urged the conservation of the soil and particularly the planting of trees, in which the country was notably deficient, and was the founder of Arbor Day. He also played a leading part in the development of railway transportation. As a tariff reformer, he aligned himself with the economists who leaned to free trade.

On February 15, 1893, Morton received from President-elect Cleveland a telegram asking him to come to Lakewood, New Jersey, where, on his arrival two days later, he was invited to enter the cabinet as Secretary of Agriculture. His acceptance was received throughout the country with rejoicing, not only by tariff reformers but also by the advocates of clean and honest government.

As a member of the cabinet, Morton sought to confine the expenditures of his department to objects of general public interest, and, while denouncing the free distribution of seeds and other forms of largess to secure the farmer vote, as a form of public bribery, he expanded the scientific work of his department, such as the Weather Bureau, agrostology, crop production, road improvement, and the study of foreign markets. In this way, while reducing the expenditures of his department, he also increased its efficiency, except as a dispenser of bribes for the "farmer vote." He continued to denounce "free silver" and publicly urged the repeal of the law under which the government bought and hoarded silver in order to increase its market price. In this way he naturally antagonized the forces

of public corruption which, under specious pretenses, such as likening the “farm benefits” from the national treasury to a protective tariff, and other devices, seek to prolong their hold on power.

New York City

JOHN BASSETT MOORE

DESERT CHALLENGE: AN INTERPRETATION OF NEVADA. By *Richard G. Lillard*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. viii, 388, ix. \$4.00.)

THIS book was designed for the general reader, whom it should attract by its stirring descriptions and lively—often journalistic and colloquial—style. It will also be read with interest by historians as a valuable supplement to Miss Mack’s more scholarly but less readable volume which ends with “the crime of ’73.” There are no footnotes, and “acknowledgements” take the place of bibliography, but the author has used a wide variety of materials and not only gives an effective synthesis of the work of others but shows considerable research on his own part. There are a dramatic section on the geology and natural history of the state and several vivid historical chapters on such topics as the emigrant trails—“hazard, misery, endless toil”—and “the evolution of a thoroughfare” from pony express to transcontinental planes. Much space is given to the mining industry, always the dominant one in the state, which has poured vast wealth into California and the East, and to the prospector and the mining camp, from the spectacular Virginia City and Goldfield to the modern company town. The treatment of the silver question, appearing significantly in the chapter “Scorned and Exploited,” would scarcely satisfy an economic historian.

But the author attempts chiefly to analyze and explain a region and people in some respects unique in American history, and his treatment combines geography, climatology, economics, labor troubles, sociology, and political conditions with a considerable degree of success. Section and chapter headings such as the following indicate the character of the material: “New West” (not “Old West”), “Choked and Retarded,” “California’s Colony,” “Fighting Back,” “Wobblies in Goldfield,” and “Wild West in Neon.” The reader’s general impression is one of overemphasis on certain sensational and bizarre aspects of Reno and Las Vegas and the Nevadan rationalizations regarding them, and of insufficient attention to some aspects, more prosaic but more significant for the future, such as agriculture and irrigation, the homesteaders, especially the Mormon settlers, the livestock industry, mineral land laws, the operation of the Newlands Act of 1902 and the Pittman Act of 1922, recent activities of the Federal government, and the influence of the University of Nevada. But the author writes with intimate knowledge and affection, and if his attitude seems too defensive, he is also completely frank and withholds nothing.

There are striking accounts of the men and groups who have “choked and retarded” the progress of the state—“railroad vampires,” mining promoters, cattle and sheep barons with their land and water monopoly, who have “sucked Nevada

like an orange." They have made of it a land of absentee ownership, an economic colony of Eastern and Californian interests, a state characterized by corrupt politicians and migratory workers, a striking contrast to her neighbor Utah. ("The Mormons could have made Nevada into an agricultural wonderland," p. 15.) There are thumbnail sketches of numerous figures, picturesque or significant, such as Death Valley Scotty and Senator William Stewart, who "well represents the democratic leadership that tried to control the Comstock until about 1865, when competitive enterprise began to give way to monopoly."

One of the most interesting contributions of the book is the story of the long conflict over the waters of Lake Tahoe, which began with the "robber-baron tactics" of the Donner Boom and Logging Company in the 1870's but became a fierce and complicated fight after 1903 when the United States Reclamation Service inaugurated its Truckee-Carson project. The struggle dragged on through thirty years, involving the two states of California and Nevada, the Federal government, the power company, farmers, resort owners, and "Tahoe Vigilantes," and was finally settled in 1934 by Secretary Ickes in favor of Nevada farmers.

The book as a whole should contribute to a better understanding of a little-known state. There are varied illustrations, a useful map, and an appendix listing recreational opportunities.

University of Wyoming

LAURA A. WHITE

DESERT SAINTS: THE MORMON FRONTIER IN UTAH. By *Nels Anderson*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xx, 459. \$4.00.)

NELS Anderson's book *Desert Saints* is primarily a political and social history of the Mormons from the origin of their church in 1830 to the achieving of statehood by Utah in 1896. The book gives only a brief account of the beginnings of the Latter-day Saint religion. The major portion of the narrative is a story of a people's struggle on the American frontier "against persecution, their reactions to opposition, and their adaptation to a desert environment in which they were forced to make their homes."

Desert Saints is not a pro-Mormon book; neither is it antagonistic to the founders of Utah. It is another good volume of American frontier history, told in an unbiased way by a trained sociologist who had in his possession many previously unused community records, diaries, and Mormon church documents. The author, however, is a Mormon, not by birth but by later affiliation. He lived in Utah for ten years during his early youth and has spent a great deal of time in the state while gathering material for this book. In style the study is vivid and pleasing; and it is embellished with four maps and forty plates.

Early chapters delineate the story of the pre-Utah period of Mormon history. The account of the rise of a new religion on the American frontier, the bitter conflict between the Mormons and their neighbors in Ohio, Missouri, and later in

Illinois, and the migration of the Saints to Utah are told in an accurate and picturesque manner.

Chapters three to twelve inclusive give an account of the political history of Utah from 1847 to 1896. The main thread of the narrative deals with the clash between the Saints and the Gentiles. Being professionally a sociologist, Mr. Anderson is able to see and interpret the underlying social causes of the conflict. Interspersed throughout those chapters are short discussions of Utah's frontier history, picturing Brigham Young's people establishing homes, building numerous new colonies, and—against the heavy odds of nature—conquering the desert. Also, some attention is given to Mormon emigration, land and water policies, and early Utah industries; but the discussions of these phases of Mormon history are brief.

The last four chapters show most pointedly Mr. Anderson's interest in sociology. From the local records of southern Utah communities he obtained data from which he pictured the social life of the Saints in their desert home. One chapter deals with government by the Mormon priesthood, another with the economics of a typical Utah community, and a third with "Social Implications of Polygamy." The author's viewpoint is wholesome and accurate. His interpretation of polygamy in relation to the political and economic forces of the frontier should be helpful to sociologists and historians in obtaining a more adequate understanding of that phase of American history.

This book hardly touches Mormon doctrine or theology, but Mr. Anderson does make it clear that the strength which brought success to these "desert Saints" was their adherence to their religious convictions. He shows that under the influence of their church the people developed what he terms "The Mormon Way of Living." He closes his book with an exposition of that subject.

Utah State Agricultural College

MILTON R. HUNTER

THE LONG SHIPS PASSING: THE STORY OF THE GREAT LAKES. By
Walter Havighurst. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. viii, 291.
\$3.00.)

In writing his most recent book, *The Long Ships Passing*, Walter Havighurst has accomplished a stupendous job in a most creditable manner. He has gone into the highways and byways along the shores of the Great Lakes and has gathered an immense amount of material, much of it unpublished until now. From this he has selected, with an admirable sense of values, sufficient to produce a panorama of the constantly changing life on these great inland seas.

The book embraces a wide range of time, territory, and topics. Each paragraph teems with information and interest. There is not an idle, trivial, or uninteresting passage in it. He tells of the arrival of Etienne Brule on the shores of Lake Huron in 1612, followed by a succession of explorers and missionaries to all the lakes,

down through the fur-trading days. He traces the evolution of Great Lakes traffic from the birchbark canoe of the Indian, loaded with peltry, to the six-hundred-foot bulk freighters of today, which carry 15,000 tons of iron ore. He points out that the latter carry a ton of coal at less than it would cost to wheel it from the curb to a basement window.

The author states that twenty-two vessels loaded five and a half million bushels of wheat on Lake Superior in only eight hours; that one hundred million tons of cargo pass through the locks at the Soo in an eight-month season, reminding one that this border town is similar to far-distant Port Said and Cristobal.

There are stories of the beginning and growth of many cities on the Great Lakes—Chicago, in 1830, with but twelve families aside from the garrison at Fort Dearborn; Duluth, with seven shanties in 1854; the population of Michigan leaping from 31,000 to 212,000 between 1830 and 1840, and that of Wisconsin from 30,000 to 300,000 in the next decade. The author explains how and why history came first to the remote northern shores; why St. Ignace, Sault Ste. Marie, and Mackinac had a history two hundred years before Cleveland and Chicago.

The book sets forth how the mining of copper, the discovery and mining of iron ore in the Lake Superior region, and the ever-increasing demand for these products necessitated the construction of locks, deepening of channels, improvement of harbors, and the development of improved equipment for loading and unloading the ships.

There is romance, drama, humor, and tragedy; also much of hardship and heroism. The author has had wide experience and travel and has carried with him an understanding and sympathetic mind. Bringing the subject up to the present, Mr. Havighurst presents impartially both sides of the highly controversial Deep Waterways project. The book reflects the author's broad grasp of the economic importance of the Great Lakes. It is comprehensive, highly interesting, and fast-moving.

Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan

JOSEPH AND ESTELLE BAYLISS

THE MAN WHO MADE NEWS: JAMES GORDON BENNETT. By *Oliver Carlson*. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1942. Pp. xi, 440. \$3.50.)

THIS is less a biography of James Gordon Bennett than a history of the New York *Herald* under his editorship. Mr. Carlson's thesis is that Bennett was the first American to view the newspaper in its modern sense: 'as a purveyor of up-to-the-minute news rather than as a literary journal or party organ. He develops this theme admirably. His excellent chapter on Bennett's handling of the Ellen Jewett murder will force historians to give that sordid affair greater prominence in the story of American journalism, and his vivid descriptions of the methods used by the *Herald* to secure news ahead of competitors make exciting reading. He shows, too, that the *Herald* introduced many features regularly found in present-

day newspapers: sporting and society news, Wall Street reports, pictures and maps, systematic European coverage, and interviews. Readers will be convinced that Bennett deserves to be called the father of today's sensational journalism.

On historical matters Mr. Carlson is less sure of his ground. His judgments are frequently naïve and lead him into unnecessary digressions which interrupt the flow of his narrative; at times the writing is so choppy that the reader feels he is scanning the front page of a newspaper rather than pursuing a well-knit interpretation of a period. Factual errors attest to the author's lack of background. The Seven Years' War ended in 1763, not 1760 (p. 28); the *New England Primer* was not first published in 1813 (p. 39); the famous Southern editor was named J. D. B. DeBow, not J. D. B. DuBow (p. 59); the first date set by the Millerites for the end of the world was March 21, 1843, not April 23, 1843 (p. 216); to say that the Compromise of 1850 left "only anger and bitterness in the North as well as the South" (p. 230) is no more true than the statement that every American newspaper but the *Herald* welcomed Kossuth to America (p. 245); slavery was not "relegated to the background in 1830" (p. 254); Preston Brooks was a representative, not a senator, when he cudgelled Senator Sumner (p. 265).

More serious is Mr. Carlson's failure to understand either the historical background against which he writes or the subject of his biography. Bennett is pictured as a genius who remade American journalism; there is no hint of the surging democracy of the Jacksonian era which sent all editors scurrying to popularize their offerings. The author obviously does not consider his subject a product of the times, simply because his own understanding of the times is too meager to allow such a connection. Nor does he attempt to explain Bennett's devious political course, other than to advance the opinion that the *Herald's* editorial policy was shaped solely by a desire to attract readers. This does not explain why Bennett favored the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott Decision, why he supported Lincoln from secession to the Emancipation Proclamation and then leveled his guns against the President, why he spent his declining years lambasting the Radical Republicans. If his only concern was circulation building, he would not have followed this unpopular course. Did he write with sincere conviction, or because he favored the South, or to help preserve the Union? The author makes no attempt to answer these questions, and a reader ends the book knowing little more of the true nature of its central character than when he began.

Mr. Carlson has not written the definitive study of Bennett; that task waits a biographer better steeped in the history of the pre-Civil War period. But his readable narrative will stand as the best book on an important American figure until such a volume appears, and it cannot be ignored by students of social history or journalism.

Smith College

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION OF 1892. By *George Harmon Knoles*, Colorado State College of Education. [Stanford University Publications, University Series, History, Economics, and Political Science, Volume V, Number 1.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1942. Pp. 268. Cloth \$2.75, paper \$2.00.)

THIS excellent monograph, a final revision by Dr. Knoles of his doctor's thesis, is the best account of the contest in 1892 now in print. In following the machinations of politicians or the maneuverings of diplomats, one does well to bear in mind that "far away from senate houses, battlefields, and kings' antechambers the mighty tide of thought and action rolls on its wondrous course." In 1892 one such tidal current sweeping the American people onward, clearly presented in the author's treatment of the Populist party, was the tragic depression of the nineties. It alienated many voters from the party in power. Many Democratic speakers explained these discontents as due to the influence of the McKinley Tariff Act, and historians usually name it as one of the major causes for the Republican defeat. The succeeding half century, however, indicates clearly that McKinley and Harrison, rather than Cleveland, represented the tariff views of the American people during these decades.

A second current affecting politics was the religious current. The author treats briefly one aspect of it, namely, the state school laws passed by the Republican legislatures in Wisconsin and Illinois. This entering wedge of government regulation caused the campaign in these states to be a fierce "biting, gouging, hair-pulling" battle—a struggle not very fully treated by the author. These laws alienated many Lutheran and Reformed German Americans who normally voted Republican, as well as many Roman Catholics. In addition, Catholics throughout the nation were offended when the Federal government began to withdraw its appropriations for sectarian Indian schools—a factor more important than indicated in the author's analysis. In fact, the word "Catholic" does not appear in his excellent index. A tense struggle ensued during which important Catholic leaders publicly advocated the defeat of the Harrison administration. Another aspect of the religious current not discussed in this study, described neither in the Cleveland Papers nor in the Harrison Papers, is the secret wooing of the Mormon vote by the Republican high command at a cost of several hundred thousand dollars. Though pressed, Harrison refused to issue his Proclamation of Amnesty for polygamous Mormons until after the election, lest he be charged with issuing it to secure votes.

A third current was the rising power of union labor. The author describes how the Homestead riots alienated many labor votes from the Republican party, but he does not mention that the party's vice presidential candidate, Whitelaw Reid, whose New York *Tribune* had a long anti-labor record, had a similar influence. The Levi P. Morton Papers throw much light on this phase of the campaign.

The political wheel-horses in each party fought the renomination of Cleveland

and Harrison. The resultant apathy affected the Republicans more than the Democrats. It is a high tribute to both presidents that they incurred the bitter opposition of political bosses who stood for ideals and practices in American economic and political life, which, if not checked, would have wrecked American democracy. The election of 1892 was a closer contest than is usually indicated; as the author states, 45.8 per cent of the popular vote was cast for Cleveland and 42.6 per cent for Harrison. Unfortunately, the tables which the author prepared on the selection of delegates, important convention votes, and the popular vote in a few significant early state elections and in the final national election were not printed.

Dr. Knoles has utilized a wide variety of sources with much skill and discernment. Only three suggestions occur to the reviewer in this connection. Perhaps too much reliance was placed on newspapers, especially the New York *Herald*. Additional accessible private papers might have been consulted for the one year involved, such as the papers of Morton, John Sherman, Hayes, Spooner, and Taft. Lastly, Matilda Gresham's *Life of Walter Q. Gresham*, written largely by their injudicious son, Otto, is too often quoted by historians without due caution in checking its statements. The injunction to the historian in Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode* that he ought to have at least two independent witnesses for a statement of historic fact should always be applied to this work.

Ohio University

A. T. VOLWILER

THE AGE OF ENTERPRISE: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF INDUSTRIAL AMERICA. By *Thomas C. Cochran* and *William Miller*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. x, 394. \$3.50.)

THIS is a work of outstanding merit. It is a stimulating and provocative book which arouses the enthusiasm and admiration of the reader because of its challenging ideas, thought-provoking interpretations, and wide range of topics which are discussed. The authors of *The Age of Enterprise* have made a penetrating analysis of the development of industry in the United States and of the social, economic, and political effects of the impact of industrialism upon the life and habits of thought of the American people. They have given us the best account we have of the important role which the American businessman has played in the history of this country. The authors have drawn their material from standard secondary works; but, through the medium of pertinent quotations from contemporary sources, they have succeeded in vividly portraying the successive stages in our industrial history; and by their skillful use of the contributions of recent research they have made clearer the growth of the institutions of business enterprise and their effect upon American society. The result is a work which henceforth must be considered indispensable for every student of American history.

Furthermore, this is a timely book. Within recent years profound changes have taken place in the American business system. The government has entered impor-

tant fields of business and has assumed many functions which formerly were performed exclusively by private enterprise. The advantages and disadvantages of private enterprise are today the subject of much discussion. It is well, therefore, to recount at this time the story of the rise of American business and how the American businessmen came to be regarded as our moral and intellectual leaders.

The authors of *The Age of Enterprise* trace the development of industry in the United States from its infancy in the early decades of the nineteenth century to the present. They make clear the importance of the growth of population in widening the markets for manufactured goods and the stimulus given to the growth of industry by the improvement of transportation facilities. They show how American businessmen before the Civil War built up their industrial plants, created markets in the South and West for their products, and developed their financial machinery. Then in 1860, with the aid of Northwestern farmers, American industrialists gained control of the national government. The authors emphasize the economic causes of the Civil War, without giving due consideration to other contributing causes; but they show clearly how Northern industry grew stronger than ever before during the conflict. Then follows an excellent chapter on how Herbert Spencer supplied the necessary philosophy to justify the monopolistic tendencies of Big Business. The corrupt and crooked tactics of the railroad promoters are set forth in detail. But, in the struggle for survival, free competition was gradually weakened. American industrialists organized pools and trusts and finally holding companies to escape the perils of cut-throat competition; but it was not until the financier gained control that order was finally established. In succeeding chapters the farmers' and laborers' battles with industrialists and financiers are described; and the unsuccessful efforts of the Progressives to curb Wall Street and restore private enterprise are adequately and judiciously retold. The follies of businessmen in the fabulous boom of the twenties are vividly recounted; but the authors discreetly avoid commenting at length on the New Deal's ventures into the field of business and the position to which the businessman was consigned. They refrain, also, from prophesying about the future of the "union of business and government."

University of Cincinnati

REGINALD C. McGRANE

A MARITIME HISTORY OF NEW YORK. Introduction by the Honorable Fiorello H. La Guardia. Compiled by the Workers of the Writers Program of the Work Projects Administration for the City of New York. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1941. Pp. xvii, 341. \$3.00.)

UNTIL two years ago Salem was almost our only important seaport to have a comprehensive account of its whole seagoing history. Since then there has been a veritable epidemic of such books, varying widely in quality. Some, like Saltonstall's *Ports of Piscataqua*, have been individual ventures; others have resulted

from Doubleday-Doran's uneven "Seaport Series"; still others, particularly Boston and New York, are co-operative ventures of the W.P.A. Writers Projects.

Despite the obvious risk of piecemeal treatment and lack of uniform control and style inherent in that last method, the W.P.A. volume *Boston Looks Seaward* is an excellent piece of work, in contrast to this volume about the port of New York. In this phase of what might be called port competition, New York has certainly been outclassed by its rival to the eastward. While the New York volume serves the useful purpose of bringing together for the first time the whole three centuries of the port's development, including several previously neglected periods, the finished product resembles a string of beads, and not very highly polished beads at that. Most of the colorful episodes are recounted, and there are plenty of dates and figures, without more than a dozen obvious errors.

The reader is left, however, without an adequate analysis of what made New York distinctive among American ports, while the maritime significance of certain critical periods has been slighted or overlooked. The experiences of New York as a Tory port during the Revolution, for instance, gained only passing mention; the bibliography does not include the excellent Abbott and Barck volumes, which could have thrown much light on those years. The generous space allotted to the voyage of the *Empress of China* might have been compressed a bit to indicate the efforts to build up trade with the French West Indies during the difficult years of postwar readjustment. The passages on the 1793-1812 period concentrate on the troubles of those years but fail to stress the rich neutral trading profits. The events which put New York definitely ahead of its rivals are mentioned piecemeal, without adequate co-ordination. Later, the obvious and tangible facts about the blue-ribbon liners crowd out the more far-reaching influence of the ubiquitous British tramp steamers. Nor are there enough of those little passages explaining exactly how things worked, such as one finds in the Boston W.P.A. volume's clear-cut description of how a gang of longshoremen is "shaped up," or how a pilot takes a vessel to sea. Altogether, while it is useful to have the high points of New York's whole maritime story presented in a single volume, ample opportunity remains for a more critical and better co-ordinated work.

Princeton University

ROBERT G. ALBION

THE AMERICAN IDEA. By Eugene T. Adams, Charles R. Wilson, Albert H. Garretson, Thomas H. Robinson, Sidney J. French, Alfred Krakusins, John B. Hoben, George E. Schlessler, Howard B. Jefferson, Colgate University. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1942. Pp. 278. \$1.75.)

NINE members of the faculty of Colgate University have collaborated in this excellent introductory appreciation of the American democratic way of life. This work incarnates not only a reason for the faith that should be the intellectual possession of every American but a moving stimulus as well. Its purpose is to "catch

the spirit of America . . . its past . . . its destiny . . . its culture, its psychology and its philosophy."

The American Idea is democracy revealed and interpreted in the realms of government, economics, science, art, literature, education, religion, and philosophy. The book is prefaced by a treatment of the historical background of American political democracy and concluded by an analysis of some enemies of the democratic ideal. A very helpful list of general and specialized readings is appended.

This essential democracy heralds the achievements of federalism in government, free private enterprise in economy, freedom of inquiry in science, realism in painting and literature, equal opportunity in education, tolerance in religion, and pragmatism in philosophy.

The fundamental assumption of the democratic way of life is the sacredness of the "equality of man and the dignity of the individual." Three basic principles spring from this assumption: the equal right of citizens to share in government, the greatest good of the greatest number being the ultimate objective of government, and the right of revolution. Four major steps comprise the development of American democracy: the colonial settlers securing a share in government, the institutionalizing of self-government in the Revolutionary and constitutional eras, the extension of political privileges for the many, and significant governmental techniques to share the ideals of democracy.

In the main this study is a well-balanced and sane glorification of the American democratic ideal of life. It is the story of America coming of age culturally, her achievements of self-reliance, and the relation of these values to their democratic background. The work might be expanded profitably, not only in the fields treated but also to include such realms as music, architecture, recreative sports, and world affairs. The super-realism in the consideration of literature and painting, at times, almost eclipses the idealistic theme.

As the interpretative opinions of specialists, a considerable degree of familiarity with fields of culture explored is presupposed. This is an admirable summary for professors teaching those cultures, a splendid supplementary text for advanced college students, and a fine orientation volume for the average reader, when studied in connection with the suggested readings.

Toledo, Ohio

CHESTER F. DUNHAM

AIRWAYS: THE HISTORY OF COMMERCIAL AVIATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Henry Ladd Smith*. [Awarded an Alfred A. Knopf Fellowship in History.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. xiv, 430, xv. \$3.50.)

THIS is the story of the domestic airlines of the United States. The author supplies a historical introduction that stretches back to the December day in 1903 when, on a lonely beach in North Carolina, man first flew; and even beyond, to

brief notations on some of the more striking nineteenth century studies in aeronautical science. He devotes a chapter to the American air forces of 1917-18; but he really enters his subject when he reaches the spring of 1918 and the joint activities of the Post Office Department and the Army in inaugurating the world's first air mail service. Almost twenty-five years of notable technical development, enormous expansion of the facilities of air transportation, and mounting public appreciation of the service and readiness to patronize it have elapsed since the first load of mail was flown between New York and Washington. There have been occasional temporary setbacks, bitter conflicts, premature enthusiasms that fostered vain hopes, and intermittent reminders of the seamy side of politics and of finance; but in reading the record as a whole, as Mr. Smith sets it forth, the setbacks and the maneuvering and the chicanery appear as temporary disturbances, sporadic eddies that never seriously interfered with the steady progress that the scientists and engineers and operating men were making toward better, more useful, and more economical aircraft and better ways of using them.

The period of air transportation's history is long enough to allow a certain amount of perspective. It is still short enough so that many of those who had leading parts in its earliest stages are still active, and their personal recollections are available to the historians. Personal reminiscence, collected at first hand, is an almost indispensable source material for the historian in such a field. Pilots and engineers and the founders of airlines have not been very prone to writing diaries or memoirs, and contemporary press accounts of early developments were frequently so romantic or so ill-informed as to furnish a better clue to what the lay public was thinking than to the truth of what was happening. Mr. Smith has made diligent use of personal interviews and correspondence with leading figures in air transport development, especially with those who played the most prominent parts in the years from 1928 to 1935.

It is the first serious attempt at a full-length historical study of the subject. It is not wholly satisfactory; but it has many merits, and the subject is by no means an easy one. In dealing with air transportation proper, Mr. Smith has made an admirable selection of the more significant events and has rendered a well-balanced judgment of the respective parts played by the various groups of men who contributed to the development, from the pioneer pilot, with an irresistible determination to stay in the "flying game" at any cost, to the managers and organizers and makers of mergers. He started without prejudices, and his determination to be fair is manifest.

The treatment of the early history of aviation, on the other hand, presents only a very limited selection of the notable events of the time, and not a wholly representative one. The exhibition flyers who thrilled county-fair audiences with displays of acrobatics in the air were hardly so representative of progress toward a practical use of the airplane as to deserve about 80 per cent of the total space devoted to the years between 1908 and 1917 in a history of air transportation.

Imaginative men were already speculating upon the ways in which the aircraft might best be given commercial employment. Mr. Smith notes that a bibliography of the years 1909-16 included sixty-five references to air transportation of various sorts, but he gives no clue to the content of any of them.

Unfavorable comment must also be made upon an overeagerness for picturesqueness of expression that produces some highly readable but somewhat misleading phrases, and upon a willingness to accept and make use of contemporary epithet that is characterized by a reference to businessmen concerned with the administration of aircraft production in 1917-18 as "swivel-chair Colonels," and to one of the industrial groups then active as "the Detroit Gang." Regrettable, too, is the profusion of small errors, especially in names, one of the more startling being the substitution of "National Advisory Council for Aviation" for the very well-known National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.

Those who have themselves been active in air transportation over the last twenty years will turn with greatest interest to the six chapters in which the story is told of the air mail cancellations of 1934 and the aftermath. It was there that conflict was most bitter, that the need for careful research by the historian was greatest, and that the greatest responsibility for interpretation of the factual record was placed upon the writer. Mr. Smith has made a careful and a sympathetic examination of the position of all parties to the air mail investigation; and in the chapter entitled "Who Is the Villain?" he concludes that there was no villain. Walter F. Brown was the Postmaster General in the Hoover administration. "This," says Mr. Smith, following upon many pages of summary of the Brown policies and their energetic enforcement, "is a man with a vision," and "no one could ever show that Postmaster General Brown had acted other than for the public interest."

Only the domestic airlines enter the record. All mention of the international routes, and of the development of Pan American Airways, is excluded.

Washington, D. C.

EDWARD WARNER

THE SINEWS OF AMERICAN COMMERCE. By *Roy A. Foulke*, Manager, Specialized Report Dept., Dun and Bradstreet, Inc. (New York: Dun and Bradstreet. 1941. Pp. 418.)

CREDIT, "man's confidence in man," is the sinews of American commerce. That is the theme of this book, commemorating the centennial of the founding of Dun and Bradstreet, well-known mercantile agency. The author endeavors to provide a "credit interpretation of American economic life." Beginning with the financing of Jamestown and Plymouth, he discusses the sources of borrowed capital throughout our history. Much of the operating capital of colonial merchants originated with the English factor who allowed long credit terms, usually a year at least, to the American importer, who granted them to the storekeeper, who in turn advanced them to his customers, usually farmers able to pay only once a

year, at harvest. Mr. Foulke also devotes considerable space to monetary history, since specie was scarce until the 1850's and "that very scarcity 'conditioned' the colonial business mind to liberal terms of sale and created the most favorable environment to demonstrate the indispensability of credit to commercial and industrial progress" (preface). About the time of the American Revolution many modern credit institutions were born; fire and marine insurance companies appeared, at first investing their funds in mortgages; commercial banks began in 1781, followed later by mutual savings banks, building and loan associations, etc. In recent years agencies of the Federal government have been important sources of credit. The early history of each of these is sketched and a helpful bibliography attached to the chapter end.

Against this background the need for an information center on merchants' credit standing is obvious. The first mercantile agency was founded in New York in 1841 by Lewis Tappan. This firm was later taken over by Robert G. Dun in 1859, and by combination with a rival concern, begun by John M. Bradstreet in 1849, the modern enterprise of Dun and Bradstreet was formed in 1933. Robert Dun rated 20,268 firms in his first volume in 1859; in 1940 the company rated 2,156,000 firms, large and small. Credit ratings must be kept up to date: an average of over four thousand changes a day were made during the first half of 1941. Well told is the story of how this credit reporting is and was done. Early credit reporters traveling through the West "came to recognize from sheer experience the little badges of candor and deceit in the men they interviewed" (p. 335).

Mr. Foulke does not carry through his original plan of giving a credit interpretation of American economic life. After reaching the mid-nineteenth century he lapses into the easier task of explaining the rise of the mercantile agency. A credit interpretation of our economic history requires more than brief accounts of the first few institutions of each type and certainly calls for more space devoted to investment banking and less to the mercantile agency. On the other hand, an explanation of the rise of the mercantile agency does not require the story of Jamestown's financing, the history of pawnbroking, building and loan associations, and personal loan companies, and certainly not sixty dull pages explaining twenty-nine Federal lending agencies of recent vintage. Mr. Foulke knows economics, is careful in the use of historical facts, and writes well. It is unfortunate that he did not limit himself to the background and history of his company. That part of the book is excellent.

University of Illinois

DONALD L. KEMMERER

ADMIRAL SIMS AND THE MODERN AMERICAN NAVY. By *Eltig E. Morison*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1942. Pp. xiv, 547. \$5.00.)

THIS is a scholarly book based upon a wide reading of manuscript and printed sources and conversations with numerous naval officers, both active and retired. The principal manuscript sources are the Sims Collection, the Key and Murdock

Papers, and the naval archives in Washington. This first volume of a young historical writer shows unusual poise of judgment, clarity of diction, and maturity of thought. In his preface he points out some of the limitations of a civilian biographer working in a technical field. On the other hand, the civilian has at least one qualification that is often denied the writer who has worn the naval uniform. He approaches his task with a mind free of service prejudices. The conservative officer may feel that this book does not do full justice to the conservative point of view. The present writer, however, records his strong impression that the author has not permitted his natural sympathies for his hero to submerge the high standards of the judicial historian. Both the general and the special reader will find much of interest in this work.

As the title indicates, the volume includes not only the *life* but the naval *times* of Sims—the latter to the extent that it is necessary to explain the former. Since Sims was the great naval insurgent of his period, long the leader of a minority radical group, naval reform is especially stressed. As a reformer he had little use for tact; he was a hard hitter who forced attention by candid or sensational statement. Sims was not a brilliant student when young; he developed late. He did not wake up, he said, until ten years out of Annapolis. The three years that he spent at Paris as naval attaché, 1897-1900, opened his eyes to the imperfections of the American Navy and were the turning point of his career. In the years following on the China Station he established himself in the role of reformer through his numerous reports dealing with gunnery problems and ship design. As inspector of target practice he greatly improved the firing of the Navy and laid the foundations of its modern gunnery. He was the proponent of the dreadnaught and crossed swords with Senator Hale and Admiral Mahan. Another matter that he had much at heart was the creation of a naval general staff. So great was its need that something of the sort has been recently provided by executive order.

The climax of Sims's career came in 1917-19, when he commanded the United States naval forces operating in European waters, with headquarters in London. His claims to naval greatness rest upon his administrative duties during his twenty months in this command. The maximum forces under him were about 370 ships, 5,000 officers, and 70,000 men, with 45 bases of operations. His opinion that "fighting is one of the smallest aspects of military operations"—rather an extreme statement of a basic truth—is not popularly held. His administrative method is summed up in his saying, "I pick the best man I can find to do the work and then trust him." This left him time for the larger aspects of his task. He never kept his officers and men at a distance but established intimate relations with them. His service after the war as president of the Naval War College was something of an anticlimax. Until the end he interested himself in reforms—prohibition, airplanes as against battleships, wider education at Annapolis, and promotion of officers based on merit.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN

PREFACE TO PREPAREDNESS: THE WASHINGTON DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE AND PUBLIC OPINION. By *C. Leonard Hoag*. Introduction by Admiral H. E. Yarnell. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1941. Pp. 205. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.50.)

Preface to Preparedness is a detailed, documented study of the public opinion campaign waged in the United States during 1920-21 in behalf of disarmament. The historical significance of Mr. Hoag's study lies in the fact that this was the first public opinion campaign concerned with an international problem after the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles, the first to have the use of the new factors of radio, increased coverage of foreign news, and the political power of women, and it was a campaign in which the public was successful. For future historians it may serve as a preview of the second postwar period when the public may again be weary with war, eager for "normalcy," insistent upon economy, and determined to have peace. This mood of the early twenties was channeled into effective action for disarmament. Mr. Hoag gives the early statements of private individuals and of organizations, traces their snowballing effect and comes to the conclusion that "It is conceivable that the conference might not have been called had not an overwhelming national opinion expressed its desire so effectively." Political leadership was given by Senator Borah, who said, "We can only hope to get disarmament if we organize and direct and utilize the public opinion of the different nations and the moral force of the peoples of the different countries."

Mr. Hoag's study is based on an examination of the records of private organizations and newspaper files. It does not attempt to explain why people felt the way they did about disarmament, but it describes the steps they took to put their feelings on record. It illustrates the cycle in which public opinion works, first the initial enthusiasm resulting in pressure, which in this case was responsible for the convening of the conference and for insisting that it carry on, then the gradual lessening of energy, and finally the almost complete lack of interest in effective implementation. In the case of the Washington Disarmament Conference, in spite of the fact that the "public's capacity for concentrated thought on foreign affairs" was exhausted, the treaties were ratified with some help from the organizations which had promoted the conference. Several of the most potent groups were organizations of women. Mr. Hoag declares that "The part which the women of the nation took in this movement has been largely ignored. Yet they contributed such remarkable leadership and organizing skill to the campaign for disarmament that a high official of the Republican Party was reported to have said: 'If the women had not had the vote, there would have been no conference.'" It should be remembered that women had just received the right to vote; the politicians did not know what the group of two million new voters would do; consequently, women had a fleeting moment of political importance and deference.

Mr. Hoag's study is an interesting record of the power of public opinion when it has a single issue on which to concentrate. Similar studies of the Nye munitions

investigation and the neutrality campaigns would probably suggest the same generalization, that public opinion is sufficiently strong in its single-minded enthusiasm to blot out political obstacles, but that its understanding of the intricacies of a situation such as the connection between the Navy, defense policy, and foreign policy is limited and that the staying power of public opinion is not usually equal to its power of initiation.

Chicago, Illinois

LOUISE LEONARD WRIGHT

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1927. Three volumes. [Department of State.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1942. Pp. lxxxi, 565; cvi, 841; xcvi, 885. \$1.50; \$2.00; \$2.00.)

AMERICAN diplomacy in 1927 was marked by an uncertain isolationism. The year was not uneventful, yet it ended with the important problems still unsolved. The United States took the initiative in calling together the Geneva Conference for the Limitation of Naval Armament but failed to reach an agreement with Great Britain on the cruiser categories which were the chief item of business. Faced with civil strife and dangerous anti-foreign demonstrations in China (recorded in 500 pages of documents), American authorities struggled with decisions involving sanctions and military action, found it impossible to protect the lives and property of American nationals, and ordered measures of partial evacuation. Little progress was made in negotiations touching the status of foreign concessions or extra-territorial rights. In Mexico the perennial dispute over American oil interests flared threateningly, and Dwight Morrow was sent to make a fresh approach to it. Yet friction was only temporarily allayed. Marines saw action in Nicaragua and gave a good account of themselves, but the formulation of a new policy governing intervention in Latin America was left for the future.

Numerous economic problems called for attention. Negotiations were initiated for the drafting or revision of commercial agreements with Latin-American and European nations, and the interpretation of most-favored-nation clauses was discussed at length. Criticism of "dollar diplomacy" resulted in a circular instruction warning diplomatic officers not to undertake "relationships involving the responsibility of the Department" in connection with the negotiation of foreign loans by American bankers (I, 312). On several occasions the government interceded in favor of American business concerns when the award of contracts or franchises seemed to warrant it. These instances were not, however, sufficiently important or numerous to suggest that economic relations between nations were being channeled through public officials in a new or significant fashion.

Diplomacy too often bore the impress of postwar reaction. Conferences called to consider world-wide economic conditions, and more specifically the "Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions," studiously avoided the question of tariff levels. A proposal by members of the Princeton and Columbia

faculties to revise the inter-allied war debts brought a sharp rejoinder from Secretary Mellon.

Meanwhile Kellogg sought to avoid all political and military commitments without incurring the stigma of aloofness. American representatives were allowed to participate only in technical discussions of the disarmament question. Action by the League of Nations to set up a Security Committee for exploratory purposes met with strong disapproval. Delegates to a Conference of International Jurists were forbidden to take part in "the drafting of new international legislation embodying changes in the existing systems of law of the Nations of the Western Hemisphere" (I, 366).

The temper of the times is different now, and it is possible that we shall see no return to the evasiveness and the continentalism that marked American policy fifteen years ago. Yet the problems of postwar reconstruction will unquestionably test American statesmanship again, perhaps more severely than before. The documents here presented offer but few suggestions for the policies of the future, but they do give convincing proof of the importance of preparing for the responsibilities of peace, even in time of war.

University of Washington

CHARLES M. GATES

THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. By *Eleanor E. Dennison*. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1942. Pp. xviii, 201. \$2.50.)

By what is apparently a happy coincidence, the publication of Westphal's monograph on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs was followed a few months later by the appearance of Dr. Dennison's study of the even more important Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The two studies supplement each other and, taken together, give a fairly comprehensive view of congressional influence in foreign affairs. Under ordinary circumstances the action of these committees, and especially that of the Senate committee, is practically equivalent to that of the respective houses of Congress.

Dr. Dennison's monograph is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the historical development of the Senate committee from its creation in 1816 to the present time, including such matters as appointment of members, selection of the chairman and relations with the President, the Department of State, and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. She justly criticizes the seniority rule in the selection of the chairman and the appointment of members on the basis of political expediency rather than with reference to qualifications and fitness to handle the specialized problems coming before the committee.

A difficult phase of the work of the committee is that of bringing about effective co-operation with the President and Secretary of State in handling foreign relations. Frequently the committee has not been in harmony with those officers and, as Dr. Dennison points out, there has been a lack of co-operation even when

party opposition was not a factor. In the hands of a strong chairman, such as Sumner, Lodge, or Borah, the committee may become virtually a Department of Foreign Relations in addition to the Department of State. These chairmen regarded the Senate as a co-ordinate, not a subordinate, body in the conduct of foreign relations. Borah even went so far as to carry on direct dealings with foreign governments, as in the case of his cable of 1927 to President Calles of Mexico regarding the oil dispute. In the 1870's this extra-constitutional development was temporarily checked by the removal of Sumner from the chairmanship—the only instance of such removal which has occurred.

In an interesting chapter on the sectional distribution of committee membership, Dr. Dennison points out that during the critical period from 1925 to 1941 the chairmanship of the committee was held by senators from the mountain section—an area least likely to be sensitive to world problems.

The second part of the study deals with the work of the committee in connection with three questions of American foreign policy—the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the Cuban Question of 1895-98, and the World Court. These examples were chosen because they influenced the subsequent course of our foreign policy.

A valuable foreword is contributed by Senator Thomas of Utah, himself a member of the committee. The book is equipped with a bibliography and appendixes giving complete lists of the members of the committee, alphabetically and by congresses. The book as a whole is a worth-while and timely treatment of the subject.

University of Illinois

JOHN M. MATHEWS

FREE SPEECH IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Zechariah Chafee, jr.*, Langdell Professor of Law in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 634. \$4.00.)

If history and special pleading are not to be mixed, it is fortunate that Zechariah Chafee is ignorant of the rule. For he has put the two ingredients within the same covers and neither is the worse for the contagion. His book, in fact, is at once *A Plea for Personal Liberty*, *An Account of Free Speech in the United States*, and *A Definition of Tolerance as a Term in the Equation of Public Policy*. His earlier essay is to this volume rather a literary ancestor than a first edition. He has used the score of years which intervenes to take account of the suggestions of critics, to keep abreast of events, to reach out after a larger understanding. The result is a superb piece of craftsmanship, in which detail is given direction, a tolerant attitude is maintained toward intolerance, and passion breaks in on objectivity at just the right moment. It takes no more than a paragraph thus to proclaim it the definitive work in its field—and to save space in which to note a number of matters which lie without the author's appointed ambit.

It is easy to place the book. It stands in the great liberal tradition, and that is

its weakness as well as its strength. For that tradition makes freedom of speech a right of man. And, although Chafee's interest roams more widely, his accent always falls upon the right of the individual to speak his own mind. But, although the subject is not explored, liberty of talk has a therapeutic role in society. Sanely used it provides a safety valve against the friction generated by the *status quo*. Make it free and useless speech, or let the amenities decree that whatever is said must be said decently—and tolerance becomes respectable. At Bug Corner, Chicago, or Columbus Circle, New York, or the Marble Arch, London, sedition is consumed by the flame of its utterance. And, far more important, free speech is a political device. It is in the large—not along the pathological fringe—the vehicle through which, under the representative system, public opinion is conveyed to the government.

And here the liberal heritage proves a handicap. The ancient norm stems from an individualistic philosophy. It exists in a realm of natural rights which lies outside the province of government. It is not the positive thing upon which office and responsibility can be imposed in a going political order. The concept Chafee employs stresses the right of the individual to be outspoken; it is little concerned with putting him into position to say a straight say. Opinion is a processed commodity; its quality and integrity depend in no small measure upon the materials out of which it is fashioned. It cannot run sound and pure if the stream of information upon which it feeds is blocked or corrupted. If there is seditious utterance, the government ought to make sure that the fault is not its own. To safeguard freedom of speech when, because of lack of knowledge, the speaker is not entitled to an opinion may be worth while. But opinion in the mass is far more important, and a duty rests upon public officials to see that it is informed. If it is not, a threat hangs heavy over the whole government.

Free speech is essential to the operation of the political process. Yet, unless instrumented by access to knowledge, it presents a curious paradox. It flourishes when the course of events is routine; it withers in a period of stress and strain. It is accepted when there are no great questions to try men's souls; it is abridged, or even denied. When heading into the unknown the critical faculties of the nation must be on the alert. The war gives sharp definition to this curious situation. For war, as even the holder of an apprentice's card in history knows, is a treacherous instrument of public policy with a terrific kick-back. Military victory is the means; yet it usurps the place of the end. The people lose their perspective, and even courts, as Chafee's instances demonstrate, succumb to the contagion. For the nation "the clear and present danger" is the state of hysteria. Against it freedom of speech, based upon adequate information, is a national necessity. It is an essential of intellectual balance, without which the discipline which must be imposed doesn't make sense or comes as a mandate from on high. And without it a people can never translate success at arms into the peace they seek.

So Chafee's excellent book is concerned with a good thing badly in need of

reform. Our society is no longer that of Milton or of Mill, and a usage they treasured needs to be suited to our later needs. As we move into a new order of society, free speech cannot be left to stand pat. There is no longer occasion to present a bill of rights to a Stuart king. But, as contract moves toward status and free men become the vassals of a regimented industry, the ancient liberties need to be freshly asserted. But to the common man their focal points are coming to be job, opportunity, security. Safeguards as of old will no longer do when dangers have moved to a new front. There are, of course, areas within which the government must preserve secrecy. But their concern is operation rather than policy, and their rightful domain is extremely narrow. The necessity for haste, secrecy, denying aid and comfort to the enemy easily becomes sanctions behind which to hide incompetence, irresponsibility, downright betrayal. The great threat to free speech does not lie in locking up radicals. It lies in putting the conduct of government out of reach of popular criticism. Without reliable information whereon to feed, the expression of opinion is at best little more than an inarticulate cry and at worst a national danger. For all its currency Chafee's book is a great historical document; it reveals an institution suited to its generation trying gallantly to carry on in an alien age.

Yale Law School

WALTON HAMILTON

A SHORT HISTORY OF CANADA FOR AMERICANS. By *Alfred Leroy Burt*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1942. Pp. xvi, 279. \$3.00.)

DRAWING on a background of residence and university teaching on both sides of the border, Professor Burt has written a balanced and readable history of Canada, which he hopes will develop a better understanding of our northern neighbor and ally. He tells the story of Canadian political development from the days of French settlement to Canada's "own declaration of war" in 1939, with recurring attention to relations between the French and English populations, between Canada and England, and between Canada and the United States. To the crisply told account of federation and the admission of new provinces he adds an account of the later growth of Canadian nationalism, a development for which American policies were in large part responsible. Here, as in his treatment of the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the framing of the Dominion constitution, and various economic policies of the Dominion, Professor Burt is writing the history of the United States as well as of Canada, drawing at times on some of his earlier writings. The Canadian point of view on these topics should prove stimulating to American historians as well as to the general readers to whom his volume is primarily directed.

Chronological organization is interrupted three times by chapters on "Life in New France," "Furs and the Great West," and "How Canada Is Governed." Into his political framework Professor Burt has woven much economic and considerable social history, as, for example, of fur trade, agriculture, lumbering and

mining, industry, railroads, the West and its mounted police, religion, education (sketchily), and newspapers (before 1820). A few figures in economic as well as many in political life are firmly portrayed. The interests of the French Canadians and the policies of the Catholic church are constantly recognized; the Scotch, Irish, Ulstermen, American Loyalists, English, Indians, half-breeds, and eastern Europeans in Canada receive due attention. The emergence of farmers' and labor parties since the first World War is noted, as are some economic problems of the recent depression, but there is no treatment of labor or social-insurance legislation or of developments in public health and housing. Art, literature, music (except the folk music of Quebec and the songs of the *voyageurs*), and science are neglected. Women are rarely mentioned.

End papers in blue and white show, not too clearly, political boundaries, railroad lines, and cities, locate chief resources and products, and note some physical features. Five black-and-white maps show political boundaries from 1755 to 1873; others show the fur-trading country and Canada's railways in 1860. Five Bengough cartoons deal with Dominion politics. Particularly effective are the forty-four pages (unpaged) of illustrations, carefully selected to show outstanding men, occupations, aspects of social life, and many historic scenes or events. Footnote citations are dispensed with. A selected reading list is appended. The volume is well indexed. The availability of a textbook edition suggests the use of the volume in college courses.

Columbia University

ERLING M. HUNT

THE KNIGHT OF EL DORADO: THE TALE OF DON GONZALO JIMÉNEZ DE QUESADA AND HIS CONQUEST OF NEW GRANADA, NOW CALLED COLOMBIA. By *Germán Arciniegas*. Translated by *Mildred Adams*. (New York: Viking Press. 1942. Pp. 301. \$3.00.)

THOSE interested in inter-American affairs have long urged the mutual translation of the books of the Americas into the major American languages as a step in the process of hemispheric understanding. Under the stimulus of the war-time need for solidarity that policy is reaching gratifying fruition. This English edition of Germán Arciniegas' *Jiménez de Quesada* (Bogotá, 1939) is a worthy addition to the growing list of Hispanic-American books available to North American readers whose Spanish and Portuguese are not equal to tackling the originals.

Señor Arciniegas' subject is one to warm the blood not only of his fellow Colombians but of Americans in general—the epic deeds and quixotic personality of the doughty licenciado Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, conqueror of the New Kingdom of Granada for the Emperor Charles V. The story has been told before, in Spanish and in the English pages of R. G. B. Cunninghame Graham. But, as the author justly observes, the exploits of the conquistador of the Chibchas have remained overshadowed by the more famous, if no less strenuous, deeds of Pizarro and Cortés. Arciniegas' account of Quesada's expedition from

Santa Marta on the Caribbean, up the steaming valley of the Magdalena and thence to the temperate mountain shelf of Bogotá in the eastern Andes; of his encounter there with Federmann, runaway agent of the Venezuelan Welzers, and with Pizarro's rebellious lieutenant Benalcázar; and, finally, of the pathetic later career and death of the octogenarian conqueror, is calculated to help regain for Quesada his rightful place in the popular mind.

This book is intended for the general reader, rather than for the historical specialist. Asserting that recent investigation of Quesada's career "proves that everything about Quesada and his whole history is uncertain," the author concludes that for his purpose this fact "establishes the triumph of the novel over history as such." Hence he does not hesitate to endow the dusty memory of the conqueror with human motives for which direct evidence is lacking and to evoke as a background for his subject a vivid picture of Europe and the Spanish Indies in the sixteenth century. A species of literary intuition impels Arciniegas to suggest that in the chivalresque figure of Quesada, Cervantes found inspiration for the *hidalgo* of similar name who became Don Quixote. But despite this frequently imaginative treatment of the subject, the reader familiar with the sources for Quesada's biography will find evidence that Arciniegas has built unobtrusively but firmly upon documentary materials and the most recent critical studies of them.

Northwestern University

JAMES FERGUSON KING

LA FORMACIÓN HISTÓRICA DE LA PROVINCIA DE CÓRDOBA. Por *Enrique Martínez Paz*, Director del Instituto. [Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Instituto de Estudios Americanistas, Número V.] (Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad. 1941. Pp. xv, 292.)

THE history of Argentina has in the past been written mostly by those associated with the interests and ambitions of the dominant city and province of Buenos Aires. In recent years efforts have been made by a number of able historical scholars in the provinces to correct this distorted picture. The volume before us belongs in this category. The text appeared originally as a chapter in Volume IX of the *Historia de la nación argentina*, a comprehensive co-operative work which is appearing under the auspices of the Argentine National Academy of History. This separate edition is fortified with voluminous footnotes, omitted from the original publication, and also with an index of persons and an extensive bibliography. The resultant volume covers some 290 pages in place of the hundred allotted to it in the *Historia*, and provides about the most useful and authoritative survey available of the formative years of this important province after the separation of Argentina from Spain.

The author, distinguished professor in the law faculty of the University of Córdoba and director of its Institute of Americanist Studies, declares in the preface that he has not undertaken to write a chronicle of Córdoba but "simply

to reconstruct . . . the series of events which have created Córdoba as a provincial entity, and explain the part they have played in the . . . struggle between autonomy and centralism which constitute the whole plot of our history." The volume, therefore, "is an attempt at interpretation of the vicissitudes of national organization as seen from the interior of the country." Although this is necessarily a federalist interpretation, the author is careful to dissociate himself from the efforts of present-day Argentine fascists to rehabilitate the memory of the famous dictator Rosas.

The book covers the years 1810-62, closing with the final achievement of national unity under Bartolomé Mitre. It is perhaps most valuable for the balanced picture it gives of the regime of the provincial caudillos during the preceding decades: dictatorship and one-party government, exterminating its enemies, forcibly imposing its political, religious, and social convictions upon the citizenry, tolerating no freedom of thought or expression; totalitarianism without the intellectual baggage of modern fascism. Yet the provincial governors of this unhappy era were not always of such crude and sinister instincts as tradition ascribes to them. Many of them were men of intelligence and honorable antecedents who struggled valiantly to maintain order and legality in a society brutalized and impoverished by constant military revolt and usurpation. The provincial legislature generally functioned with fair regularity, even though dominated by an arbitrary governor, and among the deputies were men of the highest moral and intellectual caliber in the community. But inevitably the strong, ruthless, astute leader, often barbarous and uncouth, found his way to the top as the sole embodiment of public order, until infiltration of more liberal ideas brought the age of the caudillos gradually to an end. The early history of the province of Córdoba as depicted by Dr. Martínez Paz is a running commentary upon this theme.

Harvard University

C. H. HARING

THE LATIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS: A HISTORY. By *Dana Gardner Munro*, William Stewart Tod Professor of Public Affairs, Princeton University. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1942. Pp. ix, 650. \$4.00.)

A TEXTBOOK on Latin-American history is ordinarily of interest to publishers and teachers in the field. The general public is not yet ready for detailed accounts, and thus far college and university students have taken what was recommended. Professor Munro's book is of special value to the latter because of the unusual clearness of organization and language. Latin America is the only continent whose history is taught in one semester (occasionally two) and as a rule from single-volume texts. It takes boldness of purpose to satisfy this need. Furthermore, an author must have a clear-cut interpretation if he is even to try to do the task adequately.

Professor Munro has been fortunately inconsistent in his point of view. In his foreword he writes that he will stress the political history of Latin America,

because that is the central theme of the continental effort to attain unity and stability. Yet he has incorporated a concise social and economic analysis of Latin-American institutions. The student will benefit considerably by this happy inconsistency. When we combine the clarity of style and organization with the sensible socio-political interpretation, the resultant text becomes usable by all standards.

Some points will be open to much debate. The author considers the racial make-up of population as a measuring rod of national capacity for democratic political life. Professor Munro feels that this helps to explain the easier development of democracy in Argentina, Uruguay, and Costa Rica. When it comes to Mexico, he admits the advances of social democracy but points out the little progress in political democracy there. This thesis is a little hard to reconcile with the doubtful notion that the pre-Columbian civilizations of America—those of Peru and Mexico—were “fairly democratic” (chapter 1).

There are some minor criticisms which might be noted. Errors of fact are scarce and unimportant, but a larger problem lies in Professor Munro's reliance upon tradition in explaining fundamental issues in Latin-American history. It is not hard to prove that Argentine policy was the cause of Paraguayan isolation and not Dr. Francia's self-imposed seclusion. Incidentally, Dr. Francia did leave records, which may be found in Asuncion and Brazil. The history of Brazil and Uruguay would be much clearer to students if it were noticed in the light of Argentine expansionism and attempts to revive the regional influence of the viceroyalty—even in modern times. The usual explanation of the Guayaquil interview between San Martin and Bolivar falls far short of telling what must have actually happened. Bolivar had sound economic ideas for building up a Pacific Coast state and diverted Bolivian minerals and raw materials to the Pacific rather than see them in the hands of Argentina, who claimed Bolivia as a former province.

It is only fair to say that these are newer views on old themes, and it is not to be expected that a college text should include everything. The book gives a solid picture of well-known facts and is so organized that the data can be understood.

City College, New York

HARRY BERNSTEIN

ARGENTINA: THE LIFE STORY OF A NATION. By *John W. White*. (New York: Viking Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 366. \$3.75.)

In this work the author, a correspondent for a period of twenty-five years in Latin America for the leading newspapers of the United States, rises above the usual level of journalistic presentation to offer the reader a lively and penetrating picture of Argentina. In view of the current situation it is a timely book for the general reader and has value for the scholar whose interests have not included Latin America. The volume gives an account of the land and people as only one who has lived there can, and accompanies this by a historical sketch of the devel-

opment of Argentina from the era of discovery to our own times. The period following the election of Hipólito Irigoyen and especially the years that were part of the writer's personal reportorial experience are most detailed and reveal the greatest powers of interpretation and knowledge. Indeed, approximately half the book is devoted to this recent period. These pages make a genuine contribution and are especially noteworthy for a calm and informing analysis of the failure of the United States to create a favorable and decisive impression on this remote southern neighbor. One who has been there can attest the keenness and accuracy of his dissection of the Argentine character and that his comparison of it to our own is apposite in a most remarkable way.

The study is in no sense a substitute for a good history of Argentina by a qualified scholar, such as Professor C. H. Haring of Harvard, from whom we await the ripe result of years of travel and study, once the pressure of the war years is over. Mr. White has read and consulted a surprising number of first-class works in the slight leisure that a journalist enjoys; nevertheless, his running account, while a revelation to most North Americans, displays many inadequacies to the close student of the history of Latin America. At the very outset (p. ix) of the foreword one is disturbed by the printing "Mañano." The lack of accents on Spanish words, such as "Zárate," "Entre Ríos," and "García," in the continuing narrative creates the impression that the author is not as thoroughly familiar with the language as he should be, or suggests that he did not get proof on his book. The statement (p. 25) that the Turks "closed the trade routes" and forced Western discovery demonstrates a lack of acquaintance with the scholarship in this field since 1915. It is quite probable that the author is not acquainted with the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* and has not followed the bibliographical notes in the *Boletín* of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas. Nevertheless, he provides a serviceable volume, and the great majority of North Americans will profit by a reading of its pages. Even the expert will enjoy his discussion of the recent years, where direct observation and acute judgment illuminate a scene remote from the experience of the great bulk of his readers.

University of Michigan

ARTHUR S. AITON

HISPANIC AMERICAN ESSAYS: A MEMORIAL TO JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. Edited by *A. Curtis Wilgus*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 391. \$5.00.)

THE introduction to this volume of essays is the biographical sketch by Professor A. C. Wilgus. It shows the touch of a personal friend in its familiarity with the details of the life of Professor James Alexander Robertson. This will be especially appreciated by those who have known the capacity for friendship and the lovable characteristics of its subject. Next follows a somewhat staggering bibliography of over nine pages of the writings of Professor Robertson.

The twenty essays in the volume proper range over the whole subject of His-

panic American history and bear little relation to each other in either content or style. Naturally they vary in value but in several cases are real nuggets of research produced by experienced workers.

The first selection is from the well-known Spaniard Rafael Altamira and is the kind of happy presentation of scarcely known or unpublished colonial documents that would have delighted Professor Robertson. Professor Arthur S. Aiton likewise found his inspiration in Old Spain and provides a sketch of the relation of Spain to the Family Compact as seen in the reports and letters of some of the chief men at the various European courts at the time.

Professor P. A. Means gives an indication of the surprising work done by at least one Roman Catholic bishop in the eighteenth century in the gathering of an amazing archaeological collection on the Peruvian region. Father Francis Borgia Steck shows the wide interests of the friars in Mexico as they endeavored to act as saviors, rather than destroyers, of the native culture. Professor C. E. Chapman gives a summary of an earlier study of the Spanish consulados in the New World as they varied their activities from road building to the outfitting of thousands of troops for the royal service.

Professors W. W. Pierson and Alfred B. Thomas provide intimate glimpses of the frontier life and organization of Venezuela and the hectic Sonora district of North Mexico, while Professor I. J. Cox summarizes the history of Florida as a Spanish frontier outpost. Miss Madaline W. Nichols makes concrete, with examples and details, the "horse and cow" economy of Buenos Aires as it turned from an outpost of Peru to a city and port facing Europe.

In the section of the volume devoted to the independence period, Miss Irene A. Wright and Professor A. J. Hanna treat a subject that was dear to Professor Robertson, that of the wandering of the Spanish archives of Florida and of the diplomatic efforts of the United States to secure that part of them located in Cuba. Miss Lillian E. Fisher makes available in English a sketch of the Mexican stormy petrel Miguel Ramos Arispe, while Professor J. Fred Rippy provides an excellent character sketch of the strong, and some say great, man of Central America, Justo Rufino Barrios.

Ranging into the difficult domestic problems of Latin America is the valuable study by Professor J. Lloyd Mechem on Federal intervention in Mexico, while Professor Chester Lloyd Jones provides what is essentially a comparison of sixteenth and twentieth century use and abuse of Indian labor in Guatemala.

Especially interesting to people of the United States is the essay by Professor P. A. Martin, who used some hundreds of letters of the great Argentine educator to New England friends who included such men as Horace Mann, Emerson, Longfellow, and others. The last two studies deal with United States relations with Latin America. The one by Doctor Roscoe R. Hill provides a realistic sketch of the work of United States Marines in Nicaragua from 1912 to 1925, while the one by Professor Lawrence F. Hill reaches the conclusion that on the basis of

150 years' experience the anti-totalitarian program of the United States, adopted in the 1930's (written before formal entry of the United States into the present war), has a strong probability of success throughout the New World.

Here is an interesting set of essays, widely scattered in subject matter but of real value, which constitutes a tribute by mature scholars to one of their departed colleagues. (Strangely enough, three of the writers themselves were to die before the appearance of the volume bearing their last tribute.) Entirely apart from the sentiment and personalities involved, the collection presents material that students of Latin-American history will gladly receive.

University of South Carolina

W. H. CALLCOTT

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Edited by *Douglas C. McMurtrie*. With the Assistance of John Adamson. (Chicago, Chicago Club of Printing House Craftsmen, 1942, pp. xxiv, 413.)

MAN AND SOCIETY IN CALAMITY. By *Pitirim Aleksandrovich Sorokin*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1942, pp. 352, \$3.00.) The author "discusses the effects of war, revolution, famine, and pestilence upon the human mind, behavior, social organization, and cultural life."

A HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT. By *Paul Hanly Furley*. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 481, \$2.75.)

SPAIN. By *Salvador de Madariaga*. (Forest Hills, New York, Transatlantic Arts, 1943, pp. 509, \$7.50.) "The book is divided into two parts; part one being a revision of an earlier history of Spain and part two an analysis of the past few years."

WORLD IN TRANCE: FROM VERSAILLES TO PEARL HARBOR. By *Leopold Schwarzschild*. Translated from the German by *Norbert Guterman*. (New York, L. B. Fischer, 1942, pp. 445, \$3.50.)

GENERAL INDEX TO INTERNATIONAL LAW SITUATIONS AND DOCUMENTS, Volumes XXXI to XL, 1931-1940. [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. iv, 79.)

LAW AND PEACE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES LECTURES, 1940-41. By *Hans Kelsen*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. xi, 181, \$2.00.)

VOICES OF HISTORY: GREAT SPEECHES AND PAPERS OF THE YEAR 1941. Edited by *Franklin Watts*. Introduction by Charles A. Beard. (New York, Franklin Watts, 1942, pp. 692, \$3.50.)

TWENTIETH CENTURY AUTHORS: A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF MODERN LITERATURE. Edited by *Stanley Jasspon Kunitz* and *Howard Haycraft*. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1942, pp. 1584, \$8.50.) "Biographical sketches of 1850 authors whose works have been published in English since 1900."

THE WALTER CLINTON JACKSON ESSAYS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By Members of the Faculty of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Edited by *Vera Largent*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. xi, 245, \$3.00.) This collection of eleven essays is in honor of Walter Clinton Jackson, who, as professor of history, chairman of the social science faculty, and, since 1934, dean of administration, has for thirty-three years played a significant role in the stimulation of the social sciences at the North Carolina College for Women. The essays are general and interpretative in character. Written by members of seven separate departments, they are divergent in subject matter and in points of view. As the editor points out in her brief but effective introduction, however, they are all

related to the central theme of "democracy as a way of life" (p. 3). The limitation of space necessitates confining comments in this review to the five essays which were written by historians and an economist and which are of particular interest to the historian. Eugene E. Pfaff, in the first of these, makes a popular comparison of Hitler and Napoleon with emphasis on the differences in their economic systems. In an objective but inadequately brief treatment Elizabeth Cometti discusses the impressment problem of the American Revolution. The outstanding essay of the collection is the reprint from the *Journal of Southern History* of Benjamin B. Kendrick's penetrating, pro-Southern analysis of the South's economic vassalage throughout its history. Alex M. Arnett presents the struggle between John Nance Garner and Claude Kitchin for control of the Democratic leadership in the House of Representatives in 1921-22. Depending almost solely on the Kitchin Papers for his sources, Professor Arnett portrays his hero as "always open and above board" and Garner as one who "trimmed his sails to the prevailing winds" (p. 136). A worth-while essay by Albert S. Keister treats the recent economic development of the Southeast. Without blaming or praising outside influences or Southern derelictions, he has an excellent summary of the economic resources, manufacturing and commercial trends, and a less effective one of agriculture and forestry.

HENRY T. SHANKS

A LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO NAVAL STRATEGY. By *Bernard Brodie*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942, pp. x, 291, \$2.50.) Laymen and historians will find this book both interesting and valuable, because it offers a clear, concise explanation and discussion of the underlying principles of naval strategy, presented in non-technical language and in terms of present-day events. The most valuable aspect of the *Guide*, from the viewpoint of the naval historian, is that it presents the finest balanced judgment that has appeared in print to date of the thorny question of battleship versus aircraft. Mr. Brodie has made the case for the battleship so strong that many readers will conclude that he has underestimated the potentialities of aircraft. But the careful reader will recognize that what has actually been done is to present a much needed antidote to the extremists of the Seversky faith. The author does not minimize the present or the future importance of air power; he merely states the case for the surface ship and for aircraft and then points out the mutual interdependency of each upon each. There are certain tasks that each can perform superlatively well, just as there are tasks that neither can do alone. The book will be a convenient tool for teachers who include some of the implications of naval strategy in their courses—regardless of whether the field be ancient, medieval, or modern history. Mr. Brodie is unusually well qualified to write such a book, for he has had training as an engineer, as an artillery officer, and as a political scientist. Those who read his excellent technical study *Sea Power in the Machine Age* will find that his style has improved. There is a brief, well-selected bibliography appended. It is to be hoped that the Princeton University Press will continue the policy of including selective bibliographies in its splendid series of works on naval affairs.

WALDO CHAMBERLIN

LUXEMBOURG AND THE GERMAN INVASION: BEFORE AND AFTER. Preface by *M. Joseph Bech*, Foreign Minister of Luxembourg. (London, Hutchinson, 1942, 2s. 6d.)

MEN BEHIND THE WAR: A "WHO'S WHO" OF OUR TIME. By *Johannes Steel*. (New York, Sheridan, 1942, pp. 465, \$3.50.) "The well-known radio commentator and foreign correspondent presents sketches of the lives and characters of contemporary world figures."

DIARY OF WORLD EVENTS. Compiled by *John Appleton Haven Hopkins*. Ten volumes. (Baltimore, the compiler, 40 National Advertising Company, 306 S. Hanover Street, 1942, paper \$18.75.) "Being a chronological record of the Second World War photographically reproduced from the American and foreign newspaper dispatches as reported day by day, including maps, pictures, cartoons, anecdotes, official messages, reports and declarations, and congressional acts. Covering the period from September 22, 1938, through May 31, 1941. Supplementary volumes are planned for the duration."

THE WAR IN MAPS. By *Francis Brown*. Maps by Emil Herlin. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 167, \$1.50.)

PROBLEMS OF HEMISPHERIC DEFENSE. Lectures delivered under the Auspices of the Committee on International Relations on the Berkeley Campus of the University of California, Autumn, 1941. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1942, pp. 139, \$1.50.) The lectures included were "Inter-American Trade and Hemispheric Solidarity," by John B. Condliffe; "The Axis Advance Guard in Latin America," by Russell H. Fitzgibbon; "Canada and Hemispheric Defense," by William H. Alexander; "Air Power and the Defense of the Americas," by Baldwin M. Woods; and "Whither Pan-Americanism?" by Herbert I. Priestley.

THE TOOLS OF WAR. By *James R. Newman*. (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1942, pp. xvi, 398, \$5.00.) The author of this book attempts to cover one hundred thousand pages of the history of warfare in a book of less than four hundred pages. The result is philosophy, based on inadequate personal study, rather than authenticated facts or logical deductions therefrom. The book gives a similar impression to that of a historical [*sic*] movie, or Kenneth Roberts' *Oliver Wiswell*. And, as the author says on page 9, "Military textbooks go out of date faster than millinery." This book, written in 1941, is out of date! In 1942 jungle fighting in Asia and the Pacific islands, Russia's count of the enemy battle dead, and many other factors related to the "Tools of War" have entered the picture. What we need to know under the present circumstances is what tools our various enemies are using, how they are using them, and how we can beat them to the punch. The first two bits of this information, if non-secret, are relayed to the public over the radio: the secret information is filed by our fighting men where it should be filed. The third point depends on the intelligence of our military personnel. For the inexperienced military man who wants detailed information concerning Japan's or Germany's tools of war and their methods of using them there are now many authentic books and articles available. For the *litterateur* who may be interested in the history of warfare it is better that he study it incident by incident. Such history is found in every public library. In addition, many books on the weapons used in each historical period are now available. However, I would suggest that he begin with what we know of the present emergency and proceed backward through the centuries. In this way he may come better to appreciate the influence of the social status of the warring nations and of the possible peace terms on the outcome of the present war. After a year or more or such study he might browse through Newman's *The Tools of War* as a summary!

LOUIS B. WILSON

PEACE AIMS AND POST-WAR PLANNING. A Bibliography selected and annotated by *Fawn M. Brodie*. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1942, pp. 53, 25 cents.)

AGENDA FOR A POSTWAR WORLD. By *J. B. Condliffe*, Professor of Economics, University of California. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1942, pp. 232, \$2.50.) The author was a distinguished economist in Australia before serving on the staff of the

League of Nations and the London School of Economics. He is now a professor of economics at the University of California. "The book is an attempt to set out some of the intricate, vast, and fundamental issues that must be faced in any attempt to establish a lasting peace when this war ends in total defeat of the totalitarian aggressors." It is one of the most suggestive and constructive volumes in a crowded shelf of similar attempts. As a one-man job it ranks even higher because the coverage is limited to topics within the author's special competence.

THE WORLD AFTER WAR: A PROGRAM FOR POST-WAR PLANNING. By *Henry Bamford Parkes*. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1942, pp. vii, 240, \$2.50.)

The author's ideas of the necessary application of power politics in a postwar world are rather more realistic and restrained than those of many other writers. His discussion of federalism and especially of a European regional federation gives its advocates some hard nuts to crack.

THE TOTALITARIAN WAR AND AFTER: PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. By Count *Carlo Sforza*, Former Italian Foreign Minister. Being the Course of Lectures delivered at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, 1941. [Green Foundation Lectures.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. ix, 120, \$1.25.) This volume deals with various aspects of the background of the current war, such as the vicissitudes of democracy in France and Germany, the propaganda technique of the Fascists and the Nazis, the illusions and delusions of the British and French "upper classes," the Russian "enigma," the Wilson experiment, and the colonial problem. Sforza believes in a federation of Europe and in a more or less loose federation of the English-speaking peoples. From the historian's viewpoint, it is a pity that Sforza's frequent allusions to personal conversations and recollections are not documented. Some of his judgments are, to say the least, open to serious question; for example, "In reality Hitler has proved to be only a satanic fellow with some hypnotic power over the masses; Mussolini, an actor never tired of playing a role on the world-stage; and Stalin, a shrewd Oriental peasant watching for the ruin of his two accomplices, trying to the last not to risk his own skin" (p. 24). What will probably commend Sforza's volume to many readers is its broad international outlook.

ARTICLES

WALLACE K. FERGUSON. Jakob Burckhardt's Interpretation of the Renaissance. *Bull. Polish Inst. Arts and Sci. in Am.*, Jan.

WILLIAM E. WILSON. A Note on Christian Captives in North Africa. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Jan.

M. L. W. LAISTNER. The Palatine Emigration of 1708. *New York Hist.*, Oct.

D. NIKITIN. The Diplomatic Struggle Which Preceded the War between Russia and Japan, 1904-1905. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Nov.

A. VANDENBOSCH. The Effect of Dutch Rule on the Civilization of the East Indies. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, Jan.

JEAN GOTTMANN. The Background of Geopolitics. *Mil. Affairs*, Winter.

CHARLES B. HAGAN. Geopolitics. *Jour. Politics*, Nov.

H. F. RAUP. Geopolitics. *Education*, Jan.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN. Methods of Geopolitics. *Social Forces*, Dec.

TALCOTT PARSONS. Some Sociological Aspects of the Fascist Movements. *Ibid.*

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS. The Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1937-1940. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Mar.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO. The Great Illusion: The Balance of Power. *Social Stud.*, Dec.

RUSHTON COULBORN and W. E. B. DU BOIS. Mr. Sorokin's Systems. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec.

JOHN H. HERZ. Power Politics and World Organization. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Dec.

WILLIAM B. MUNRO. Our Vanishing Government of Laws. *California Law Rev.*, Dec.

ORON JAMES HALE. The Dignity of History in Times of War. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Mar.

ARNOLD LUNN. Catholic Opinion and the War. *Yale Rev.*, Winter.

Ancient History¹

T. R. S. Broughton

PRE-SARGONID TEMPLES IN THE DIYALA REGION. By *Pinhas Delougaz* and *Seton Lloyd*. [Oriental Institute Publications, Volume 58.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. 368, \$15.00.)

ANCIENT EGYPT AS REPRESENTED IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS. By *William Stevenson Smith*. (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1942, pp. 175, \$1.00.) A handbook of the Egyptian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, which also includes a short history of the development of Egyptian culture and art.

DIONYSIAC SARCOPHAGI IN BALTIMORE. By *Karl Lehmann-Hartleben* and *Erling C. Olsen*. (Published jointly by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1942, pp. 81, Fig. 44, \$1.50.) This excellent volume bridges a gap in our knowledge of Roman sepulchral sculpture. Seven of the nine sculptured sarcophagi discovered in the year 1885 in two underground burial chambers near the Porta Pia in Rome, now in the Walters Art Gallery, form the subject matter of this book. Olsen is able to show convincingly that the conventional figures which formed the basis of decoration in the middle of the second century A.D. were replaced by scenes becoming more and more elaborate during the last half of the century. At the beginning of the third century there occurred a partial return to more "Classical" designs. The subjects have to do with the mysteries of Dionysos, particularly the rebirth after death. The elements are analyzed in masterly fashion by Lehmann-Hartleben and an excellent picture of the growing attention to afterlife in the late second century obtained. It is not quite clear why the rams' heads, symbols of Dionysos-Sabazios, should be given special prominence rather than be accepted with the griffins and the representations of the Leucippidae as part of the widening Dionysiac cult. One might question also the chronological grouping of the garland sarcophagus in Baltimore with those of similar scenes in Rome and Boston, for the subject was long popular and differences in detail are rather striking. But these are minor points. The illustrations are extraordinarily good, the text is kept clear of too specialized discussions, and the book is of exceptional interest to students of art and religion, both specialists and beginners.

CLARK HOPKINS

THE GREAT AGE OF GREEK LITERATURE. By *Edith Hamilton*. (New York, W. W. Norton [copyright 1930, 1942], pp. 347, \$3.50.) Includes the author's earlier work "The Greek Way," with additional chapters on authors previously omitted and on the religion of the Greeks and a new preface.

MYTH AND SOCIETY IN ATTIC DRAMA. By *Alan M. G. Little*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 102, \$1.50.)

THOSE ANCIENT DRAMAS CALLED TRAGEDIES. By *William Kelly Prentice*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942, pp. 194, \$2.50.) This work will make a special appeal to those who are interested in an interpretation of the aesthetic and ethical problems of ancient Greek tragedy in terms of present-day standards. The

¹Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

author deals briefly with the origin of tragedy and then proceeds to a detailed study of representative plays of the three great Greek tragic poets. The tragedies discussed are four each from Aeschylus and Euripides and three from Sophocles. The treatment usually starts with a discussion of the legends underlying each play, whenever these require elucidation; then comes a technical dramatic analysis, with considerable attention paid to the histrionic details; the conclusion being normally a searching comment upon the religious and ethical problems involved. It is impossible in these brief limits to mention even the most interesting contentions, such as the author's denial that fate (as modern critics understand the term) is a dominant element in Greek tragedy and his argument that the *Eumenides* was not conceived as a laudation of the Areopagus, then under attack; but nearly every section is provocative of thought, and even when one does not fully agree, it is well to be stimulated to rethink the grounds for dissent. The chief foundations of Professor Prentice's criticism seem to have been laid in the era when Verrall and Jebb were regarded as the leading authorities. It is noteworthy that so mature and thorough a scholar apparently felt he had relatively little to learn from the younger generation. Every page bears signs of a profound familiarity on the part of Professor Prentice with the problems which the plays present to modern minds, a familiarity born of more than half a century of loving attention to Greek tragedy, coupled with sincere and earnest reflection upon their aesthetic and moral significance to men of our own age.

W. A. OLDFATHER and S. B. STRAW

GENERAL ARTICLES

- O. NEUGEBAUER. The Origin of the Egyptian Calendar. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.
 DONALD E. McCOWN. The Material Culture of Early Iran. *Ibid.*
 SIDNEY SMITH. The "Hurrian" Language. *Antiquity*, Dec.
 JOHN GARSTANG. Šamuḥa and Malatia. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.
 GRACE AMADON. Ancient Jewish Calendation. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, Dec.
 G. ERNEST WRIGHT. The Terminology of Old Testament Religion and Its Significance. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.
 W. A. McDONALD. Where Did Nestor Live? *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Oct.
 JAMES DUFFY. The Historical Development of Ancient Literature. *Class. Jour.*, Jan.
 KURT VON FRITZ. Once More the Ἐκτίμοροι. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Jan.
 ROBERT J. BONNER and GERTRUDE SMITH. Administration of Justice in the Delphic Amphictyony. *Class. Philol.*, Jan.
 WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN. Slavery and the Elements of Freedom in Ancient Greece. *Bull. Polish Inst. Arts and Sci.*, Jan.
 H. D. WESTLAKE. Timolcon and the Reconstruction of Syracuse. *Cam. Hist. Jour.*, VII, no. 2.
 ROBERT SCHLAIFER. Demon of Pacania, Priest of Asclepius. *Class. Philol.*, Jan.
 G. H. MACURDY. Platonic Orphism in the Testament of Abraham. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, Dec.
 MOSES HADAS. From Nationalism to Cosmopolitanism in the Greco-Roman World. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan.
 HARRIS HIRSCHBERG. Simon Bariona and the Ebionites. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, Sept.
 RALPH MARCUS. A Note on Bariona. *Ibid.*, Dec.
 A. R. BELLINGER. Hyspaosines of Charax. *Yale Class. Stud.*, VIII.
 JAMES A. NOTOPOULOS. Ferguson's Law in Athens under the Empire. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Jan.
 ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE. Acca Larentia. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Oct.
 AINSWORTH O'BRIEN-MOORE. M. Tullius Cratippus, Priest of Rome. *Yale Class. Stud.*, VIII.
 HOMER H. DUBS. A Roman Influence upon Chinese Painting. *Class. Philol.*, Jan.
 CHESTER G. STARR, JR. Coastal Defense in the Roman World. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Jan.
 CARL H. KRAELING. The Episode of the Roman Standards at Jerusalem. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Oct.
 R. O. FINK. *Victoria Parthica* and Kindred *Victoriae*. *Yale Class. Stud.*, VIII.
 IDA F. KRAMER and TOM B. JONES. *Tribunicia Potestate*: A.D. 270-285. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Jan.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

- WILLIAM STEVENSON SMITH. The Origin of Some Unidentified Old Kingdom Reliefs. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Oct.
- V. GORDON CHILDE. Ceramic Art in Early Iran. *Antiquity*, Dec.
- HARALD INGHOLT. The Danish Excavations at Hama on the Orontes. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Oct.
- D. S. ROBERTSON. New Light on the Façade of the Treasury of Atreus. *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LXI.
- J. L. MYRES. Hesiod's "Shield of Herakles": Its Structure and Workmanship. *Ibid.*
- R. PFEIFFER. The Measurements of the Zeus at Olympia. *Ibid.*
- ELIZABETH PIERCE BLEGEN. News Items from Athens. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Oct.
- HETTY GOLDMAN and FRANCES JONES. Terracottas from the Necropolis of Halae. *Hesperia*, Oct.
- LLOYD W. DALY. Echinus and Justinian's Fortifications in Greece. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Oct.

LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHICAL SOURCES

- A. POEBEL. The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad [cont.]. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.
- ROLAND G. KENT. Old Persian Texts. I, The Darius Suez c Inscription; II, An Inscription of Darius II. *Ibid.*
- EUGENE VANDERPOOL. An Archaic Inscribed Stele from Marathon. *Hesperia*, Oct.
- STERLING DOW. Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists. II. *Class. Philol.*, Jan.
- H. R. IMMERWAHR. Five Dedicatory Inscriptions from the North Wall of the Acropolis. *Hesperia*, Oct.
- LOUIS FINKELSTEIN. Pre-Maccabean Documents in the Passover Haggadah. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Oct.
- EDITH HALL DOHAN and H. M. HOENIGSWALD. Three Inscriptions in the University Museum, Philadelphia. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Oct.
- JULIAN OBERMANN. Inscribed Tiles from the Synagogue of Dura. *Berytus*, VII, no. 2.

Medieval History

Gaines Post

- SONG-SCHOOLS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *A. H. Thompson*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1942, 1s.) "An instructive paper detailing the mediaeval constitutions and usages of English Cathedrals and other churches. Some of these, the grammar-and-song type, became known as 'Grammar' schools, and were the foundation of the English musical tradition. . . . Notes give references to sources."
- A BRIEF COMMENTARY ON EARLY MEDIAEVAL ARCHITECTURE WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO LOST MONUMENTS. By *Kenneth John Conant*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942, pp. 45, \$2.00.)
- THE SHARE OF THOMAS AQUINAS IN THE GROWTH OF THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION. By *Charles Edward Hopkin*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1940, pp. viii, 188, \$2.50.) The title of the work is not descriptive of its contents, which include the oft treated topics of general magic, demonology, angelic nature, etcetera, but little of witchcraft in particular. The author has gathered well-known passages of St. Thomas dealing with the above named subjects, has either translated them or paraphrased them, and has often appended the original Latin text in the footnotes. No attempt has been made to study these Thomistic arguments either historically or from the point of view of controversial positions. The Latin text is unfortunately marred by numerous misprints. There is barely a quotation which can stand. And at times the omissions, misplacements, and misspellings of words render the passage unintelligible. The author does not seem as yet to have a full control over scholastic terminology, even though he shows much better knowledge

than is usual in works of this kind. The term *ratio* is a source of trouble: the phrase "secundum quod intellectus apprehendit aliquid in ratione boni" is translated on page 68 to read: "in as far as it [the intellect] apprehends something good in reason." It should read thus: "according as the intellect apprehends a thing *as* good" (this use is extremely common and often corresponds to our phrase "in the aspect of" or "from the point of view of"). Elsewhere and frequently *ratio* is rendered by "design," which never fits and occasionally sounds ludicrous as, for example, on page 97 where "rationem fortuiti" is translated as "the design of fortuity," which would be like saying, "the purpose of the purposeless." On that same page the author has confused "unity" with "unicity" or "singleness" in the phrase "naturae est proprium tendere ad unum." The verb *consequi* (p. 100) means "acquire," not "follow." The two passages from St. Augustine on pages 106-07 contain mistranslations. The first paragraph on page 109 misses the sense of the original. The title on page 82 should not read "ultra montanum" as two words but "ultramontanum," and the translation should be corrected accordingly. The most serious defect of the book, however, is the frequent practice of summing up philosophical positions in such a way as to render them incomprehensible, erroneous, or inadequate. The latter part of the book, which deals with the influence of St. Thomas on subsequent thought and practice, is of necessity superficial and incomplete.

DINO BIGONGIARI

SOME SESSIONS OF THE PEACE IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY: 1340, 1380-83. By *Mary Margaret Taylor*. [Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Publications, No. LV.] (Cambridge, published for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society by Bowes and Bowes, 1942, pp. lxxii, 76.) This volume adds another to the records of the justices of the peace already printed through the efforts of Miss B. H. Putnam. Miss Taylor's debt to Miss Putnam is apparent throughout, particularly in the introduction in which she discusses the historical background, the form, and personnel of the fourteenth century peace commissions, the mechanics of the sessions to which these records pertain, and the offenses brought before the justices. These rolls are interesting for different reasons. The earlier is one of three extant for 1340. As it was not, as was commonly the practice, prepared for a visit of the king's bench to Cambridgeshire, it contains more information on procedure and more finished business than do many peace rolls. Apparently the justices of the peace did not adhere strictly to the common law processes in securing the appearance of offenders. Also, they were no more successful than the justices of the king's bench in obtaining the conviction of serious offenders. The second roll contains more information on the great revolt than do some other peace rolls of the same date. As there is extant a roll of the special commissioners appointed to deal with the uprising in Cambridgeshire, it is regrettable that that roll was not included in this volume, inasmuch as it relates to the keeping of the peace in the county. On this roll, as on the Warwickshire roll of the same date (Dugdale Society, Vol. XVI), there is some evidence that the justices of the peace, who were deprived of the power to determine felonies in the commission of December 20, 1382, ignored this deprivation or else, whether intentionally or unintentionally, confused the peace commission with the special commission issued to some of their number the next day. As is often true, no economic offenses appear on this roll. Since the justices determined such cases themselves, it was unnecessary to prepare records for the king's bench. In view of the difficulties of communication with England at the present time the volume is remarkably free from errors, and Miss Taylor and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society are to be congratulated on achieving its publication during the war.

ELISABETH G. KIMBALL

MINISTERS' ACCOUNTS OF THE EARLDOM OF CORNWALL, 1296-1297. Volume I. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by *L. Margaret Midgley*. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXVI.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1942, pp. xxxix, 150.) Edmund, earl of Cornwall, is remembered for his work as *locum tenens* of Edward I. His importance in the field of English finance is called to our attention by Miss Midgley. Loans to the king in 1297 were in the form of an allocation to Edward of the total receipts from the tin mines of Cornwall and Devon. As Edmund was one of the greatest magnates in England, these accounts of his estates are welcomed. The interest which they hold for those studying seignorial administration and the stannaries is obvious. In Volume I the editor has confined herself to the reports of the stewards of Berkhamsted, Mere, Wallingford, and St. Valery. The method of auditing will interest the economic historian. It is similar to the Michaelmas accounting at the royal exchequer, though on an infinitely smaller scale, as Miss Midgley has pointed out. The geographical distribution of the manors provides a representative view of the agricultural conditions in England. Much interesting information appears in the accounts: farming equipment, wages of workmen, the yield of grain per acre in relation to the amount of seed sowed, the feeding and care of livestock, and the growing of wool. The parks and woods of the earldom—with their returns from the sale of pasturage and pannage, coupled with the presence of stud farms and the keeping of chargers—seem to have occupied a place in some respects similar to that of the forest in royal accounts. The foregoing list shows the variety of material which can be found. It is necessary to call attention to some of the errors in the footnotes of the introduction: note 3, page viii, should read "C.P.R. 1266" rather than "1265"; note 6 on the same page should read "C.P.R." instead of "C.C.R." On page xviii the numbers of the notes are scrambled: "5" should read "4" and vice versa, while the second "3" should be "7." But these inaccuracies do not detract unduly from the general value of Miss Midgley's work. She has achieved a good balance between an appreciation of Edmund and an interpretation of the accounts of the earldom of Cornwall.

MARY W. JUDAY

THE VIKING AND THE RED MAN: THE OLD NORSE ORIGIN OF THE ALGONQUIN LANGUAGE. By *Reider T. Sherwin*. (New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1942, \$2.50.) The first volume of this compilation appeared in 1940.

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

THE LIFE OF FRANCIS DRAKE. By *A. E. W. Mason*. (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1942, pp. viii, 349, \$3.75.) In an age replete with men on the make few careers were more meteoric than that of Francis Drake. Sprung of West Country yeoman stock, he had his initiation into the ways of the sea as an apprentice to the skipper of a small bark trading to Zeeland. From this beginning he earned in relatively few years recognition as the foremost sailor of his day, associating with the great of his own land and upon occasion with aristocratic foes as well, and becoming the personification of England's denial of Spain's asserted monopoly of the New World. To the literature of this epic career is now added a sound account by a novelist who has delighted two generations of readers and who, if the verve of these pages means anything, is now a very youthful septuagenarian. Writing for the general reader, Mr. Mason eschews the customary scaffolding of scholarship, but no footnotes or bibliography are necessary to demonstrate that he has consulted the sources. He is frequently at pains to discuss his evidence and to explain how he has reached his conclusions. Indeed, the pertinent primary literature is so fascinating and now so available that no one interested in the subject could well fail to digest it. But it is as a piece of exposition that the present volume makes its principal contribution. A sailor by avocation, the author has a feeling for the sea which can be gained only from a firsthand acquaintance with sails and ships. This awareness of wind and tide adds to the authenticity of his accounts of voyages and naval engagements. He writes with enthusiasm, yet is aware of the limitations of his principal figure. He treats with sympathy the latter years when the fire which once burned so hotly in Francis Drake began to fail. This change in the man himself, perhaps as much as the better preparation of the Spaniards, explains the contrast with the prodigious successes of his earlier years.

LEONIDAS DODSON

ELIZABETH, CREATURE OF CIRCUMSTANCE. By *Hilaire Belloc*. (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. vi, 258, \$3.00.) The only reason why this book deserves any attention in the *American Historical Review* is because the author some years ago indicated that there was need of a new life of Elizabeth, and the title of this book gave promise that he himself had written it. The title is misleading. This is not a life of Elizabeth; it is most emphatically not a new life. It is a rehash of what Mr. Belloc has on various previous occasions said about the lady, none of it pleasant, most of it of doubtful validity. Once again he disposes of the most controverted problems about Elizabeth with mere asseveration. It is Mr. Belloc's own affair if he chooses, in the late afternoon of his life, to bring further discredit upon himself as an honest scholar, but it is to be feared that as a prominent Roman Catholic his bigoted, distorted appraisal of one of the great figures in English history will be ascribed to his faith rather than to his own shortcomings. Students of the period, remembering the careful workmanship of such distinguished Catholic historians as Dr. Meyer and Father Pollen, will not make this mistake, but the untutored reader may be led very far astray. It is high time for the zealots of all faiths to realize that the surest way of weakening their case is to support it by statements which are disingenuous and equivocal even when they are not demonstrably false.

CONYERS READ

TWO MANUSCRIPTS: I, A MEMORIAL CONCERNING THE COYN OF ENGLAND, NOVEMBER, 1695; II, A MEMORIAL CONCERNING CREDITT, JULY 15, 1696. By *Charles Davenant*. With an Introduction by Abbott Payson Usher. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942, pp. xi, 108, \$1.75.)

EVANGELICALS, REVOLUTIONISTS, AND IDEALISTS. By *Francis John McConnell*. (New York, Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1942, pp. 184, \$1.50.) "Biographical sketches of six eighteenth century English contributors to American thought and action—James Oglethorpe, John Wesley, George Whitefield, Thomas Paine, George Berkeley, and William Wilberforce."

THE MOTHER OF VICTORIA: A PERIOD PIECE. By *Dorothy Margaret Stuart*. (Toronto, Macmillan Company of Canada, 1941, pp. xi, 312, \$5.00.) Miss Stuart brings much literary talent and a genius for accurate detail to her study of the duchess of Kent and her Hanoverian and Coburg relatives. Except for new material on Sir John Conroy, the comptroller of the duchess of Kent's household, she adds little of importance to the familiar story of Victoria's family background. The historical student will be interested in the account of the intrigues about the duchess, which involved the hopes of the Radicals who looked up to Lord Durham, and the fears of the extreme Tories, which were expressed through the duke of Cumberland. He may question the scale of values which leads the author to interpret the years from 1820 to 1840 in terms of the uninspiring personalities and petty quarrels of the parents, uncles, and aunts of Victoria, but he will appreciate a "Period Piece" in which the historical details are painstakingly correct.

A HISTORY OF THE STRAW HAT INDUSTRY. By *John G. Dony*. (Luton, Gibbs, Bamforth, Legrave Press, 1942, pp. 219, 10s. 6d.) This little book is more than a locally published study of a highly localized industry by a local boy. It is a valuable case history of an industry which could never become fully mechanized, which catered for a highly seasonal demand, was at the mercy of fashion, and felt to the full the brunt and benefits of international competition under free trade. The industry has two parts. First comes the conversion of the straw into one of the thirty or forty kinds of plait. Then this plait is sewed into a hat. Plaiting has always been a rural manual domestic occupation, like spinning and lace-making. After 1800 English plaiters gradually overtook their Italian, Swiss, and German rivals in the art, but all were alike swamped by the tidal wave of cheap plait from China and Japan after 1870. No matter what new designs were created by the Europeans, it took the Chinese only about a year to imitate and perfect production of the new pattern. To-day plaiting is a lost art in England and almost lost on the Continent. The sewing machine helped to convert hat-making into a factory occupation, yet in 1911 nearly a third of the makers worked at home. The effect of seasonal demand has always been serious, but that of style became more disturbing after 1860, when fashions began to change more quickly. Inability to predict or control fashion trends made production for stock well-nigh impossible. Hence for six months in each year workers were idle and impoverished; then came the frantic rush in the spring and early summer, with excessive overtime, defiance of factory laws, and large earnings, until the worker and the demand were alike exhausted. Some manufacturers now make felt hats in the slack months, but in the 1930's 25 per cent of the women workers were idle in November, against only one per cent in April. The book might have been better arranged, for the reader is left to piece together fragments about organization, technique, etc. But it contains many good things, of which the best is a series of over forty pictures of women's straw hat styles from 1700 to 1940. From these the

student of cycles can study the periodicity of fashion, while the rest of us can glimpse the horrid shapes of things to come.

HERBERT HEATON

ANGLO-AMERICAN LITERARY RELATIONS. By *G. S. Gordon*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1942, 5s.) This study of Anglo-American literary relations by the late president of Magdalen College, Oxford, covers early American literature to the end of the American Revolution, the rise of American literature, friendship in letters, British authors in America, and similar topics of interest to both countries.

SOUTH-EAST AFRICA, 1488-1530. By *Eric Axelson*. (London, Longmans, Green, 1940, pp. 306.) This scholarly volume, a thesis for the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, consists of two nearly equal parts: a narrative, based on study of the Portuguese, British, French, and Vatican archives, of the early years of Portuguese penetration into South-East Africa, and five appendixes, the last of which is a long account of the Portuguese archives, including several of the documents published for the first time in the original Portuguese. A brief introduction shows the Arabs to have penetrated as far as Sofala about 740. The author dates Dias' voyage at 1480 and recovered the pillar, erected by Dias on False Island, in 1938, whereupon it was reconstructed by the University of Witwatersrand, as told in another appendix. He considers Da Gama "one of the first modern believers in frightfulness" who "proved the existence of gold in South-East Africa." But that region "was no particular success as either a source of gold or as a refreshment station," and D'Almeida's death in Table Bay caused the Portuguese to abandon the idea, afterwards carried out by the Dutch, of establishing a watering station at the Cape. However, D'Almeida "made the first European settlement on the east coast of Africa" in 1505. The chapter on "Madagascar, 1505-08," has topical interest now, but little then; for "over a hundred years it was neglected." Similarly the journey of Fernandes, who "laid open the interior for penetration by Portugal," had no results for fifty years. The account of this journey is taken from an unpublished monograph by Tracey Antonio Fernandes, "Southern Rhodesia's First Pioneer, 1514." The Durban Municipal Library contains a map of this journey. The author's "conclusion" is that the gold of Sofala never sufficed "to balance the expenditure of the fortress and the factory" and limited trade in other directions. A full bibliography and twelve plates, two showing the recovery and reconstruction of Dias' pillar, complete this study, which the author should continue over the subsequent Portuguese penetration, which Theal described from 1505 to 1795.

Durban, South Africa

WILLIAM MILLER

EUROPEAN POWERS AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA: A STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON THE SOUTH-EAST COAST OF AFRICA, 1796-1856. By *Mabel V. Jackson*. [Imperial Studies, No. 18.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1942, pp. vi, 284, \$8.40.) This study sketches the role of the Arabs as traders, colonizers, and empire builders in Indian Ocean lands; it traces the rise and fall of Portugal's eastern empire and the Anglo-French conflict over the control of this region; it relates the story of American activities in and alleged plans for eastern Africa; and it recounts parts of the long and weary struggle for the suppression of the East African slave trade. The author has ransacked Portuguese as well as British archives and prints some interesting documents from the former. She brings to light many new details in the diplomatic history of the years 1801-10 and discusses with insight the situation which arose in Portuguese East Africa after Napoleon had expelled the house of Braganza from Portugal. Some attention is given to a curious plan for creating a Brazilian-Angola-Mozambique federation, and a good deal of

space is devoted to the vain attempts made by humanitarians and others to get the British government to assume control of the East African coastal region in order to eradicate the slave trade. This book traverses much of the ground covered by Professor R. Coupland in *East Africa and Its Invaders* (Oxford, 1938), with the difference that the attention of Miss Jackson is focused in the main upon the Portuguese and Mozambique, whereas Professor Coupland is more concerned with the Arabs operating from Muscat and Zanzibar. Although many of the incidents referred to may fall within the classification "small beer," Miss Jackson proves conclusively that in the first half of the nineteenth century South-East Africa was within the orbit of European diplomacy. It will be noted that the American price of his small book is exactly twice the English of 21s.

PAUL KNAPLUND

ARCHIVES YEAR BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. Fourth Year, Parts I and II. (Cape Town, Government Printer, 1941, pp. 247, xii, 255.) Much of the material in these year books is in Afrikaans. Professor Beyers has written an article on the "Great Trek in Its Bearing on the Growth of Our Nation," in which patriotism and scholarship both find a place. The Afrikaans style is excellent and avoids the heavy borrowings from the language of Holland which usually produce a style that is as soggy and unappetizing as yesterday's porridge. But the patriotic stuff in the essay is less attractive. Mr. Beyers reminded the reviewer of nothing more than the students of several generations ago in both American and European history who used their scholarship in the service of nationalistic trends and parochial convictions. That this article was written as an occasion piece at the time of the Voortrekker centenary celebration in 1938 explains and excuses its spirit but hardly justifies its inclusion in an archives year book devoted to objective scholarship. Dr. Wichmann's study of the "Growth of the South African Republic, 1838-1860," covers some ground that has been quite thoroughly traversed before, but it is, nevertheless, a tribute to the excellent and careful instruction in research given in South African universities. Yet when are Afrikaans students going to learn to see the history of their country as part of colonial history in general? And when, as a result, are they going to learn to see the Great Trek as the logical result of the social and economic conditions of the time in South Africa and abroad? Mr. Dicke's essay on the North Transvaal Voortrekkers (in English) is an intimate and rambling account of the streams, the tracks, the kraals, and other phenomena which were of the essence of Voortrekker existence. The essay is posthumous and unfinished. These two volumes are not on the level of the previous year books. It is fair to remember that South Africa is engaged in total war.

C. W. DE KIEWIET

THE NATIVE LABOR PROBLEM OF SOUTH AFRICA. By J. M. Tinley. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. xxii, 281, \$3.00.) This is a useful book. As a report upon statistical materials dealing with the leading social and economic problems of South Africa it is excellent and will be welcomed by students who do not have ready access to official sources. Dr. Tinley's impartiality in approaching a subject that bristles with controversy is evident on almost every page. The complex field of South African social and economic questions has for some time been in need of such a guide as this. The analysis of native diet and labor efficiency is first-rate. Occasionally Dr. Tinley's detachment comes close to defeating its own purpose. Some of the most dramatic facts of South African economic life are left beneath a cloak of figures or tables. It is startling to read the bare statement that the number of natives employed in the mining industry is some nine times as great as the number of white workers, when this disproportion contains within it the powerful story of the bitter conflict between the exigencies of low-grade ore and the de-

mands of the "civilized labour" policy. The bibliography and the footnotes show that Dr. Tinley has made more use of economic and sociological than of historical materials. Such a neglect has the result, apart from several minor historical errors, that a vital point is largely missed. The native labor problem and the "poor white" labor problem have very much the same origins and can scarcely be discussed separately. It is a little like a murder mystery with part of the clue missing to discuss problems of native labor without constant reference to the fact that a separation of black and white labor problems is simply the illusion of political bigotry. In fairness it should be stated that the book contains plenty of hints which show that Dr. Tinley is himself aware of this interdependence. The student of South African history will also recognize that Dr. Tinley has provided himself with no basis upon which to consider adequately the inescapable issue of segregation, which seeks to block native industrial advancement and native urbanization in flat contradiction of the utter dependence of the white man's economy upon the services of the black man.

C. W. DE KIEWIET

MY APPEAL TO THE BRITISH. By *Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*. Edited by *Anand T. Hingorani*. (New York, John Day, 1942, pp. 79, \$1.00.) "A collection of Mahatma Gandhi's sayings and writings."

REPORT OF A MISSIONARY JOURNEY MADE BY THE HON. AND REV. CHARLES JAMES STEWART THROUGH UPPER CANADA IN 1820. Edited by *James J. Talman*. (London, University of Western Ontario, 1942, pp. 18, mimeographed.)

HISTOIRE DE SAINT-FRANÇOIS-DU-LAC. Par *Thomas-M. Charland*, O. P. (Ottawa, Collège Dominicain, 1942, pp. 364, \$3.00.) The modern Saint-François-du-Lac is a small hamlet situated a short distance to the south of the St. Lawrence River, where it widens to form Lake St. Peter, between Montreal and Three Rivers, the original settlement having been nearer to the lake. This general region lies in the heart of old French Canada, and in his volume Father Charland has undertaken to record its history, from the granting of the seignury of Saint-François in 1673 to the present day. The story told here must be typical of that of many French-Canadian communities. There is an extended account of the seigneurial regime, with biographical sketches of individual seigneurs. The parish history of the Saint-François region is naturally treated in great detail, though there are also valuable side lights on political and social developments. American students of Canadian history will probably be most interested in the chapters which are concerned with the military events of the intercolonial wars and the invasion of Canada during the American Revolution. There is considerable information relating to the Abenakis, who had a settlement in the vicinity. While much of the material in the volume is mainly of antiquarian interest, it is based upon careful research, the author having made extensive use of documents in the public archives at Ottawa and in the archives of Quebec. In a sense the book may be regarded as a supplement to and continuation of *l'Histoire de Saint-François-du-Lac*, by Benjamin F. Sulte.

WAYNE E. STEVENS

MONTREAL: SEAPORT AND CITY. By *Stephen Leacock*. [Doubleday, Doran Seaport Series, Vol. VII.] (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1942, pp. 351, \$3.50.) Covers past and present life in the great Canadian seaport.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA FISHERIES. By *W. A. Carrothers*. With a Foreword by *H. A. Innis*. [Political Economy Series, No. 10.] (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1941, pp. xv, 136, \$2.00.) A study well fortified by tables of statistics with the

necessary account of the economics and management of an industry whose development historically is briefly given, together with a summary of international negotiations about treaties and tariffs. Sockeye salmon play the leading role in the conflict of Canadian, American, and Japanese interests. Halibut are second, with herring, pilchard, cod, sturgeon, and dogfish all in the picture. The monograph, a neat piece of economic history whose importance is underlined by Professor Innis' introduction, is a credit to the author and to the University of Toronto Press and the Institute of Pacific Relations.

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 PETER M. DUNNE. Queen Elizabeth Excommunicated. *Hist. Bull.*, Nov.
 NEIL R. KER. The Migration of Manuscripts from the English Medieval Libraries. *Library*, June.
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 G. D. RAMSAY. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Clothing Industry, 1640. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.
 C. T. ATKINSON. The Army under the Early Hanoverians. *Jour. Soc. Army Hist. Research*, Autumn.
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 ALFRED G. BAILEY. The Basis and Persistence of Opposition to Confederation in New Brunswick. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Dec.
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 MARGARET H. SCHOENFELD and ANICE L. WHITNEY. Wartime Methods of Dealing with Labor in Great Britain and the Dominions. *Law and Contemp. Problems*, Summer.
 R. EVANS. The 1st Armoured Division in France. *Army Quar.*, Nov.
 MARY RANSOME. The Reliability of Contemporary Reporting of the Debates of the House of Commons. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May.
 A. R. M. LOWER. The Social Sciences in Canada. *Culture*, Dec.
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FRANCE

A HISTORY OF FRENCH DRAMATIC LITERATURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Part 5, RECAPITULATION, 1610-1700. By Henry Carrington Lancaster. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942, pp. 243, \$5.00.)

THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT: AN ANTHOLOGY OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FRENCH LITERATURE. Edited by *Otis E. Fellows* and *Norman Lewis Torrey*. (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1942, pp. 653, \$4.00.)

VICTOR HUGO: A REALISTIC BIOGRAPHY OF THE GREAT ROMANTIC. By *Matthew Josephson*. (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1942, pp. 527, \$3.50.)

FRENCH COLONIES IN AFRICA: A LIST OF REFERENCES. Compiled by *Helen F. Conover*. [Library of Congress, Division of Bibliography.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. 94, apply.)

WAR IN THE WEST: THE BATTLE OF FRANCE, MAY-JUNE, 1940. By *Daniel Villroy*. (Harrisburg, Military Service Publishing Company, 1942, pp. 163, \$2.50.) "A French army officer, who fought in the disastrous battle of France, gives two main reasons for France's military collapse—lack of preparation and a defensive strategy. He gives a day-by-day account of the fighting and explains military maneuvers simply, for the layman as well as for the military reader."

ARTICLES

DONALD GREER. Guide to Source Material on the Émigrés of the French Revolution. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Mar.

NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

VOYAGES TO VINLAND: THE FIRST AMERICAN SAGA. Newly translated and interpreted by *Einar Haugen*, Thompson Professor of Scandinavian Languages, University of Wisconsin. Illustrated by Frederick Trench Chapman. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1941, 1942, pp. xii, 181, vii, \$3.50.) This new translation of the Vinland saga is designed to make it just as readable and attractive to modern readers as it originally was, and still is, to the Icelanders. Such a purpose seems a matter of course. Nevertheless, most former translations of this, as of many other Old Norse sagas, were burdened with so much archaism of style and words as to compel the use of a dictionary to understand them. Only the English translation of Gathorne-Hardy in 1924 undertook to render the Vinland saga in truly modern form. Professor Haugen wanted to present it to American readers in the straightforward style of present-day American idiom, and if I may judge, he has succeeded. Indeed, the text is rendered with the highest degree of fidelity. The saga is preserved in two versions that differ from one another in many respects both as to content and form. Professor Haugen has made the same experiment which Gathorne-Hardy did before him of welding the two versions together into one text. For a popular edition I think this procedure well justified, thus offering to the readers the complete tradition of the first discovery of the American continent, and the new translation presents itself as a perfect unity without any visible breaches. It is accompanied by a commentary giving the evidence of history as to the credibility of the saga and discussing the vexed problem of where to locate the mysterious Vinland. This discussion, though brief and popular, is eminently sane. In my opinion the author is perfectly right in refusing to fix the landing of the ancient Icelanders at any particular spot, simply stating that they must have come to some place on the south New England or Middle Atlantic Coast. Also, Professor Haugen discusses quite briefly the recent attempts to find proofs of the Norse settlements in pretended runic inscriptions and other finds. He does not evince any belief in them. He has omitted mention of the Yarmouth stone from

Nova Scotia with an inscription which, some few years ago, was interpreted as a monument raised by Leif Ericsson to his father. The interpreter has been able to construct a kind of runic text by scrambling together runic signs from different ages, following the most unreliable and antiquated edition of runes that he could discover, that of George Stephens. It is on the whole the tragic fate of most such explorers that they have stumbled over runic works absolutely out of date. Contemporary with Professor Haugen's book appeared the second volume of Reider T. Sherwin's laborious and fantastic attempt to prove the Norse origin of the Algonquin language. He has gathered his knowledge of the Old Norse from Rask's *Icelandic Grammar* (1832), an excellent pioneer work in its time but certainly not the last word in Norse philological research.

HALVDAN KOHT

KRIGSPROPAGANDAN I SVERIGE FÖRE TRETTIOÅRIGA KRIGET. Av *Sverker Arnoldsson*. [Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, XLVII, 1941: 7.] (Göteborg, Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag, 1941, pp. 36, 3 kr.) Arnoldsson's brief study of prewar propaganda in the Sweden of the late 1620's bears witness that there is nothing new under the sun. In phraseology whose caution is dictated by the situation of his homeland today, the author explains the appeals to each class of the population found most effective by Gustavus II Adolphus in preparing his country for participation in the Thirty Years' War. The Swedish nobility, partly international in make-up and fairly cognizant of the threat to their own position inherent in foreign invasion, needed no further incentive beyond continuity of employment. To the Lutheran clergy the prospect of a Counter-Reformation directed by the Jesuits and under the aegis of Poland and Austria was a terrifying prospect. The crown depended upon them to influence the fourth estate, the peasantry. Of their measures, national days of prayer and fasting proved pre-eminently successful in reconciling the farmers to the advent of a new war. The threat to the Baltic and to the rising commercial interests of Sweden was most potent in effect upon the weak middle classes of the towns. Here, as with the peasantry, the coercive power of the crown, the threat of its penal measures, played a part in quelling the discontent attendant upon the prospect of conscription and heavy taxation. The early seventeenth-century depended less than do we upon written and printed words, but it rang all the changes on spoken syllables. The results satisfied king and council, the inaugurators of the propaganda.

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

THE MOUNTAINS WAIT. By *Theodor Broch*. Illustrated by Rockwell Kent. (Saint Paul, Webb, 1942, pp. 307, \$3.00.) This is a vivid account by the mayor of Narvik of the Nazi attack on that peaceful far northern shipping port for Swedish iron ore. The story of terror and destruction gains its real force by its contrast with the account of life in the land of the midnight sun in the peaceful days when no one dreamed that war would touch Narvik directly. One of the best introductions to an understanding of Norway as it was and will be again.

NORDENS FÖRENTA STATER. By *Karl Petander*, *Willy Kleen*, and *Anders Örne*. (Stockholm, Natur och Kultur, 1942, pp. 79.) The appearance of this booklet touched off an extended discussion in Norwegian and Swedish circles about the postwar policies of the Northern states.

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JOOST DAHLERUP. Early Danish-American Diplomacy. *Am. Scand. Rev.*, Dec.

A. G. MAZOUR. Russia and Prussia during the Schleswig-Holstein Crisis in 1863. *Jour. Central Europ. Affairs*, Oct.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

- FROM LUTHER TO HITLER: THE HISTORY OF FASCIST-NAZI POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. By *William Montgomery McGovern*, Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University, Visiting Lecturer on Government, Harvard University. [Under the Editorship of Edward McChesney Sait, Pomona College.] (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1941, pp. xiv, 683, \$4.00.)
- THE WORLD OF GENERAL HAUSHOFER: GEOPOLITICS IN ACTION. By *Andreas Dorpalen*. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, pp. 358, \$3.50, textbook edition \$2.75.)
- PROBLEMS OF THE DANUBE BASIN. By *C. A. Macartney*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. [Current Problems, General Editor, Ernest Barker.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 160, \$1.25.) A clear, judicious, and well-balanced outline of the history of the Danubian peoples precedes an equally intelligent and considerate discussion of the new eastern Europe that should emerge from a future peace. Since the setting up, along ethnical lines, of a series of self-contained national states cannot solve the problems of the Danube basin, the author advocates that the Danubian nations be organized into an intermediary economic unit between Russia and Germany, a unit that will also be an association for common defense and the embodiment of "a certain underlying Danubian culture."
- A GERMAN PROTECTORATE: THE CZECHS UNDER NAZI RULE. By *Shiela G. Duff*. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 304, \$3.50.)
- HITLER'S SPEECHES. Edited by *Norman Bayne*. Two volumes. (London, Oxford University Press, 1942, 50s.)
- WHAT ABOUT GERMANY? By *Louis P. Lochner*. (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1942, pp. 409, \$3.00.)

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- JOACHIM JOESTEN. Hitler's Fiasco in the Ukraine. *For. Affairs*, Jan.
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- ROBERT FRIEDMANN. The Devotional Literature of the Swiss Brethren, 1600-1800. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, Oct.
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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

A LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE. By Joseph Spencer Kennard. (New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. ix, 418, \$5.00.) Mr. Kennard's attempt to trace the history of the Italian people since the year 1000 has resulted in a pedestrian and extremely superficial book. This is probably due in part to his belief that "it is the author's idiosyncrasy which should govern his selection of facts" (p. ix).

THE DIARY OF GINO SPERANZA: ITALY, 1915-1919. Edited by Florence Colgate Speranza. Volume I, 1915-1916; Volume II, 1917-1919. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. xxvii, 406; 336, \$6.00 a set.) Gino Speranza went to Italy in August, 1915, as the correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* and of the *Outlook*, remaining there until April, 1919. For a short time, after July, 1918, he served as an assistant in the American embassy in Rome. His readable *Diary* embodies his impressions of persons, humble and important, of places, obscure and famous, and of such subjects as Italo-American relations and the vicissitudes of Italy during the Great War, particularly the enthusiastic character of Italy's participation in the war. There are many charming and felicitous passages, for example, concerning Venice. On the whole, the *Diary* offers little of value to the historian. It is not clear whether the present work reproduces Speranza's diary exactly as he wrote it; the organization and assembling of the material seem to be due to the editor. The *Diary* contains a foreword by Arthur Livingston, a list of many of Speranza's writings, and a good, though not quite complete, index.

ITALY FROM WITHIN. By Richard G. Massock. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 408, \$3.00.) The author was the chief of the Rome bureau of the Associated Press from 1938 to December, 1941, and was interned after the United States had entered the war.

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- C. J. S. SPRIGGE. Italian Fascism: A Retrospect. *Nineteenth Century*, Oct.
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- CARLO SFORZA. A Blow for Freedom. *Ibid.*, Nov. 7.
- MARIO BELLINI. Do the People of Italy Want Peace? *Independent Woman*, Jan.
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- LUIGI STURZO. Italian Problems in War and Peace. *Rev. Politics*, Jan.
- Problemi italiani visti da italiani in Europa. *Mondo*, Nov.

RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

OUTLINE OF POLISH HISTORY, PAST AND PRESENT. By *Olgierd Górka*. (London, New York, M. I. Kolin, 1942, pp. 111.) This little manual conforms exactly to its title. Two thirds of the booklet cover the long, complicated history of Poland to date. The weight of many names of persons and places breaks any thread of continuous development. There is a brief chapter on the growth of Polish culture, ten pages on the territory and population of Poland, and a page or two each to various economic and industrial aspects of Poland. The thesis of the author is that a strong Poland is necessary to the peace and stability of central eastern Europe. That is of course the argument for a strong Czechoslovakia. What Dr. Górka thinks is a strong Poland is not stated precisely, but the reader is not allowed to overlook what Poland once was in extent and relative rank.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND THE SOVIET STATE. By *Serge Bolshakoff*. (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1942, 3s. 6d.)

LENINISM: SELECTED WRITINGS. By *Joseph Stalin*. (New York, International Publishers, 1942, pp. 479, \$2.75.)

SOVIET ECONOMY AND THE WAR. By *Maurice Herbert Dobb*. (Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts, 1942, pp. 93, \$1.25.)

THE RUSSIANS: THE LAND, THE PEOPLE, AND WHY THEY FIGHT. By *Albert Rhys Williams*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1943, pp. 255, \$2.00.)

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA. By *Sidney and Beatrice Webb*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1942, pp. 128, \$1.50.) This book contains "The Webbs," by George Bernard Shaw; "The New Civilization," by Beatrice Webb, which is a reprint, with modifications and additions, from the introduction to the 1941 reissue of the Webbs' "Soviet Communism"; "The New Constitution of 1936," translated by Anna Louise Strong; and "Postscript on the Rights and Basic Duties of Man as Laid Down by the Constitution of the USSR, 1936," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

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- N. KOROBKOV. Kutuzov-strateg [Kutuzov the strategist]. *Ibid.*, 1942, 5.
- S. DRABKINA. Razlozheniye germanskikh okkupatsionnykh voisk v Rossii v 1918 godu [the demoralization of the German forces of occupation in Russia in 1918]. *Ibid.*, 1942, 1-2.
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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

BASIS FOR PEACE IN THE FAR EAST. By *Nathaniel Peffer*. (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. 277, \$2.50.)

MEN AND IDEAS: AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *Moushêng Lin*. Introduction by Pearl S. Buck. (New York, John Day, 1942, pp. 270, \$2.50.)

OUR ENEMY JAPAN. By *Wilfrid Fleisher*. (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1942, pp. xi, 236, \$2.00.)

WITH JAPAN'S LEADERS: AN INTIMATE RECORD OF FOURTEEN YEARS AS COUNSELLOR TO THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, ENDING DECEMBER 7, 1941. By *Frederick Moore*. (New York, Scribner's, 1942, pp. 365, \$2.75.) The small book by Wilfrid Fleisher purports to be "the story of the relations of the United States from the time Commodore Perry opened up the island empire to foreign intercourse down to the Japanese attack on Hawaii." In spite of this claim to historical perspective, barely thirty of the 236 pages of the book are devoted to American-Japanese relations prior to the *coup d'état* of 1931. The book is chiefly a newspaperman's account of what he observed in the pursuit of his profession. On historical subjects the book is superficial. In his *Volcanic Isle*, published in 1941, the author describes his experiences as reporter and editor of the *Japan Advertiser* for two decades prior to 1940, when he left Japan. Part of these observations he repeats in *Our Enemy Japan*. The rest of the latter book is devoted to his observations as a reporter for the New York *Herald Tribune* at Washington during the negotiations of Admiral Nomura with Cordell Hull. The book contains little that was not reported in the American press from day to day. As a human document it is worthy of note for its record of the author's surprise at the swiftness of the war moves of the Tojo government. The newspapermen, with few exceptions, were not any more prepared for the war than were the admirals. *With Japan's Leaders*, by Frederick Moore, is the story of an American newspaperman who accepted a post as foreign counselor with the Japanese foreign office. He served two terms, 1921-26 and 1932-41. His service fell in Tokyo, Geneva, and Washington—most of the time in the latter capital, where he advised Ambassadors Saito, Horinouchi, and finally Admiral Nomura. Moore's account has some value in its record of the reactions of Japanese diplomats to international events. But even here, the fact that the author was not proficient in the Japanese language renders his reports incomplete. The author advances the opinion that Admiral Nomura had no knowledge of the plan of the Tojo government to attack Pearl Harbor.

KENNETH COLEGROVE

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- HENRY A. WALLACE and others. U. S. Declarations on Post-War Reconstruction. *For. Policy Reports*, Sept. 15.
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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

- A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Dwight Lowell Dumond*, Professor of History in the University of Michigan. (New York, Henry Holt, 1942, pp. viii, 882, \$4.00.) Dr. Dumond describes his book as "a general introduction to the study of United States history." He has in mind especially the young men and women of today, upon whose minds he desires to impress the slow and often painful growth

of our institutions, the matchless environment of the American way of life, and the obligations of intelligent citizenship. In a style characterized by clarity and compactness, he covers American history from the founding of Jamestown to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Eight periods are distinguished: 1607-1783; 1783-1825; 1825-40; 1840-60; 1860-76; 1876-96; 1896-1917; 1917-41. Within each of these periods the material is organized into chapters and sections with workmanlike skill. The captions are happily chosen and enable the reader to find his way about with ease. Although Dr. Dumond's field of special interest is the antislavery origins of the Civil War and the secession movement, he has not succumbed to the temptation of overemphasizing this phase of American history. Indeed, his treatment is admirably proportioned, except as regards the period 1825-40, to which he devotes approximately as many pages as to the periods 1896-1917 and 1917-41, respectively. Important as was the regime of Jackson and Van Buren, one questions whether it deserves to be weighted as heavily as these later periods. The format of the volume is attractive. The text is supplemented by judiciously selected bibliographies, maps, statistical tables, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution.

EDWARD E. CURTIS

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *Ernest L. Bogart* and *Donald L. Kemmerer*, University of Illinois. [A revision of Ernest L. Bogart's *Economic History of the American People*.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1942, pp. x, 909, \$3.75.)

THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*, Jonathan Trumbull Professor of American History in Harvard University, and *Henry Steele Commager*, Professor of History, Columbia University. Two volumes. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942 [copyright 1930, 1937], pp. xvi, 825; xvi, 785, \$3.50 each.) The history has been extended backward to the origin of man in America and forward to our entry in World War II.

MAIN CURRENTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Ralph H. Gabriel*, Larned Professor of American History, Yale University. (New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1942, pp. 190, \$1.50.) A series of lectures given in army camps in the winter and spring of 1942.

JOHN WOOLMAN, AMERICAN QUAKER. By *Janet Whitney*. [An Atlantic Monthly Press Book.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1942, pp. x, 490, \$3.75.) Mrs. Whitney's *John Woolman* is based of necessity on the Journal, the first popular edition of which was that brought out in 1871 by John Greenleaf Whittier. The Whittier volume contains a long introduction dealing primarily with biographical material available at that time and with a discussion of Woolman's thought. In 1922 Amelia Mott Gummere, after extended research, published what still stands as the best edition of the text. She included the Woolman essays, variant readings, and all pertinent information derived from her explorations. Mrs. Whitney has taken advantage not only of the work of Whittier and of Miss Gummere but of discoveries made since 1922. The author of the present biography has herself made diligent and fruitful search in England and in likely places in America. Her book, however, adds but little to the knowledge of Woolman. Mrs. Whitney attempts no revolutionary reappraisal of this quiet eighteenth century Quaker. Her aim is rather to reconstruct imaginatively the personality of the author of the famous Journal and to recreate with all possible vividness the scenes through which he moved. She has done excellent work in bringing to life the eighteenth century community in which Woolman passed from infancy to manhood, a task of some difficulty, for on this period the Journal has little to say. When Woolman's life reaches flood tide and the Journal becomes full of material,

Mrs. Whitney's method is to quote extensively from the Journal but in almost every case to precede the quotation with an effort to create the mood or the scene that gives life to the quotation. Wherever possible her quoted material is selected from the earliest incomplete manuscript of the Journal, a narrative that has greater spontaneity than the text which Woolman's editing and rewriting finally produced. The portrait of Woolman that emerges from Mrs. Whitney's biography gives the impression of being a genuine likeness. The book helps the reader to know and to appreciate not only Woolman, the man of affairs, but Woolman, the Quaker mystic and the humanitarian troubled by the evils of the world. It is a pleasant volume, well written, well indexed, and with a body of well-chosen appendixes.

RALPH H. GABRIEL

BILL OF RIGHTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Leila Roberta Custard*. [The University of Southern California Social Service Series.] (Los Angeles, University of Southern California [for sale by the author, Hackettstown, New Jersey], 1942, pp. 48, 50 cents.) Summary of doctor's thesis with bibliography.

LEXINGTON TO FALLEN TIMBERS, 1775-1794: EPISODES FROM THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF OUR MILITARY FORCES. Selected and described by *Randolph G. Adams* and *Howard H. Peckham*, with a Foreword by William A. Ganoe, Colonel, U.S.A. [Bulletin of the William L. Clements Library, No. 37.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1942, pp. 41, \$1.00, paper 50 cents.) This little bulletin consists of the major steps in the history of the Continental Army. The contents are about the same as those found in high-school textbooks in American history. The excerpts from sources and the photostatic reproduction of letters, orders, and maps give a sense of reality, however, which the general textbook can scarcely achieve. The foreword, written by Colonel William A. Ganoe, implies that the purposes of the booklet are to correct rampant errors in our military history, furnish a correct primer in this phase, counteract the baleful effects of the "economic interpretation of history" and the threatening advance of the "social interpretation of history," and suggest "what original sources may be found in the Clements Library." The last objective is achieved.

EDGAR B. WESLEY

"MR. W. & I": BEING THE AUTHENTIC DIARY OF CAROLINE LE ROY WEBSTER DURING A FAMOUS JOURNEY WITH THE HON^{ble} DANIEL WEBSTER TO GREAT BRITAIN AND THE CONTINENT IN THE YEAR 1839. With an Introduction by Claude M. Fuess. (New York, Washburn, 1942, pp. xxii, 264, \$2.75.) Daniel Webster had a second wife, a feather-minded lady some seventeen years younger than the "God-like Dan'l." She survived him by thirty years and outlived her own mental powers, such as they were, for a decade or more. Unlike his first wife, she exercised no restraint over his convivial habits and, if her conversation was like her writing in this diary, may well have contributed to them. In 1839 "Mr. W. and I" went on a restful (!) trip to England with side trips to the Continent. Daniel Webster saw and was seen by everyone worth while, and his wife kept a diary of the days, faces, food and dresses—and weather. The diary was fortunately lost and unfortunately found in a garret in 1941 and still more unfortunately was published in 1942.

THE MAD FORTIES. By *Grace Adams* and *Edward Hutter*. (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. viii, 294, \$2.50.) It would perhaps be difficult to prove that the decade of the 1840's was any more "mad" or "fabulous" or in general more incoherent or illogical than any other period. Its diet faddists and sundry curists are undoubtedly amusing, but the main objective of their "madness" was that of similar faddists of later generations—the improvement of the health of all who accepted the new

doctrines—and it is at least possible that their notions were little wilder than some current in the present day. The period was far more significant for its achievements in humanitarian reforms than for its interest in the water cure or phrenology, and Lucretia Mott, Abby Kelly, and Elizabeth Blackwell played a greater part in it than did Mary Gove Nichols, whose fantastic career was no more characteristic of her day than that of any other foolish woman of any other age. The forties were, in all essentials, far from “mad,” unless they had an undue share of the divine madness of humanitarianism and belief in the ability of human beings to improve both themselves and their institutions. This new book on the eccentricities of the period is an irritation for anyone at all interested in the subject or the period. The authors have, apparently, used an old autobiographical account of the life of one of the least reputable of the crackpots of the mid-nineteenth century and have made it the thread of a very incoherent and trivial discussion of all the futile ideas of the period. They lump Horace Mann and Horace Greeley and other reformers in with the wildest-eyed publicity-hunting mesmerists, water curists, phrenologists, etc., in a most extraordinary hodgepodge. There is no bibliography, nor are there footnotes or index.

ALICE FELT TYLER

SCHLIEMANN'S FIRST VISIT TO AMERICA, 1850-1851. Edited by *Shirley H. Weber*, Librarian of the Gennadeion, Athens. Published for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. [Gennadeion Monographs, II.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. ix, 111, \$2.50.) Henry Schliemann's early life, as the first leaves of this diary make clear, was spent in dire and uncomfortable poverty. Later he carved an important niche for himself as excavator of Troy and Mycenae. The biennium to which this diary relates was somewhat transitional. The author records his departure from St. Petersburg for America, his various experiences en route, his voyage by Panama steamer to California, his inspection of that gold-mad empire, his banking operations—highly profitable—at Sacramento for twelve months beginning in April, 1851, and his return to the East and to Europe in the summer of 1852. Nowhere is there a reference to archaeology, other than the mention of tourists at Mount Vernon picking from the wall around Washington's tomb little stones which they regarded as holy relics. On every page, however, the latent archaeologist may be glimpsed in the diarist's insatiable curiosity about the habits and customs of the people he was meeting and about their mechanical, political, and social contrivances. This quality of mind adds zest to his remarks on a levee of President Fillmore's, on Pennsylvania penology, on the Gorgona-Panama trail, and on the excellent rabbit and quail hunting within the city limits of Sacramento. On life in gold-rush California his comments are illuminating; his account of voyaging by the Panama route is one of the most circumstantial extant. The editor has supplied a brief introduction, a few explanatory notes, and translations of the occasional passages written in Spanish.

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY

THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF GENERAL NICHOLAS LONGWORTH ANDERSON: HARVARD, CIVIL WAR, WASHINGTON, 1854-1892. Edited by *Isabel Anderson* (Mrs. Larz Anderson). (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1942, pp. 320, \$3.25.) As indicated in the second part of the title, these selections from the letters and journals of Nicholas Longworth Anderson (1838-92) pertain to three periods in his career: the Harvard period (1854-58), the Civil War period (1861-64), and the period of his residence in Washington, the last ten years of his life (1882-92). The gap between the first two periods, it will be observed, is small; that between the last two some eighteen years, although the latter gap is partly filled (1864-70) with letters to Elizabeth Kilgour, who became his wife in 1865. The letters from 1882 to

1892 are to his son, Larz Anderson, at Exeter (1882-84), then at Harvard (1884-88), and finally at the American legation in London (1891-92). The letters, be it said, are not printed in their entirety but for the most part in brief extracts. All in all, one obtains from these selections a fairly comprehensive view of the life of General Anderson and not less so of the type and character of the man. The materials are well edited, with notes, chiefly identifications of persons, segregated at the end of each chapter. The volume closes with a brief chapter entitled "Last Days and Memorials" (April-September, 1892).

STORM OVER THE LAND: A PROFILE OF THE CIVIL WAR, TAKEN MAINLY FROM "ABRAHAM LINCOLN: THE WAR YEARS." By *Carl Sandburg*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1942, pp. 440, \$3.50.) As the subtitle indicates, Carl Sandburg has made a cutting and selection from his four long volumes on the war years, providing a skeletal structure of those volumes and those years in a sixth the space used for the earlier account. The book has the advantages and disadvantages of such treatment. It gains in clarity from brevity and from the absence of the repetition, masses of detail, and overwhelming use of quotations which characterized the longer work. Sentences are more often short than long, and terse, vivid paragraphs and brilliant, often poetic, phraseology keep the style as truly "Sandburg" as that of the earlier volumes. The brevity of this new work will give it a wider public, and the absence of footnotes and bibliography should aid in increasing its popular appeal. The profuse illustrations—photographs, line cuts, and other drawings—add much to the attractiveness of the book, which should gain, also, from the opportuneness of its publication. The condensation of the longer work reveals, however, certain things lost, to a degree, in the former mass of quotation and detail. The "storm over the land" is almost entirely a military phenomenon; there is little to indicate that the war was a social and economic upheaval and that for many, both North and South, a way of life had been altered if not ended. The election of 1864 receives one brief chapter, but the deep cloud of political dissension, "fifth column" activities, defeatism, and downright disloyalty that is shown so clearly in such new works as Wood Gray's *Hidden Civil War* seems not to have affected Sandburg's "storm." The horrors of war stand out from every vivid description of battle and carnage; the twisted dead, the courageous and suffering wounded, the bullet-riddled trees, the "blood and anger." Generals follow each other across the stage, clear-cut as Sandburg sees them. And above them all stands always the "Man of Authority"—Lincoln, who will for a long time and for many people be best known through Carl Sandburg's works.

ALICE FELT TYLER

GRANT OF APPOMATTOX: A STUDY OF THE MAN. By *William E. Brooks*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1942, pp. 347, \$3.00.) The intelligent sophomore, assigned a term paper in U. S. History 203a, follows a regular procedure. First he selects a chapter, an encyclopedia article, or even a book on his topic, and proceeds to paraphrase it. Then he looks up several other accounts and inserts paraphrases of anything new they may contain. Finally, he compiles a bibliography and scatters a few footnotes through his manuscript. The harassed instructor, confronted with this ingenious compilation, heaves a sigh for scholarship and grades it "B." This is a "B" book. It recounts, pleasantly enough, the major events of Grant's life from Point Pleasant to Appomattox. Its sources, aside from the *Personal Memoirs*, are the usual reminiscences, campaign biographies, collected letters, and war books. Its theme is that Grant was a man. The author marshals the usual anecdotes to illustrate his point. The author does not subject his subject to psychoanalysis, nor does he estimate the logistics of Grant's military activities. The author essays no essays on

economic determinism or providential intervention. The author just says that Grant was a man. In the light of the available evidence this is probably a safe conclusion.

W. B. HESSELTINE

LORD OF ALASKA: BARANOV AND THE RUSSIAN ADVENTURE. By *Hector Chevigny*. (New York, Viking Press, 1942, pp. 320, \$3.00.) Alaska has known many colorful figures, but the most colorful, thus far, has been a certain hard-drinking, roystering, bearlike soldier-trader named Baranov. Kiril Timofeevich Khliebnikov published at St. Petersburg in 1835 his *Aleksandra Andreevicha Baranova, Glavnago Pravitelia Rossiiskikh Koloniy v. Amerikie*. This little work on "The Chief Manager of Russian Colonies in America" was printed only in Russian, is classic, and, from the Russian point of view, nothing could be added. However, Warren Cheney in 1905 with *The Way of the North* and Stewart Edward White and Harry DeVighne in 1935 with *Pole Star* essayed fictionalized biography. Now comes Hector Chevigny with popular biography. Chevigny, let hard-working professors note, acquired his interest in our northern empire through history courses at the University of Washington. In 1937 appeared his *Lost Empire: The Life and Adventures of Nikolai Rezanov*, and now follows *Baranov*. Its sum and substance is implicit in its chapter titles, including such as "Sitka Is Bought with Blood," "The Sin of Father Juvenal," "An Assassination Is Thwarted," "Baranov Accepts the Will of God," and, in closing, "Death in the Pacific." Historians, of course, have no business to sneer at such approach, method, and treatment, for the present strategic importance of Alaska cries out for a broader governmental policy there forthwith, and lively literature on the territory appearing currently somewhat aids the awakening. Quite a sale has been found, for example, for Jean Potter's *Alaska under Arms*; and the same may, likely enough, be true of Chevigny's *Lord of Alaska*.

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

CURRIER & IVES: PRINTMAKERS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *Harry Twyford Peters*. (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1942, pp. 249, \$5.00.)

WILLIAM JAMES, THE MAN AND THE THINKER. By *Max C. Otto* and others. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1942, pp. 148, \$2.00.)

RECORDS OF THE BUREAU OF INSULAR AFFAIRS RELATING TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, 1898-1935: A LIST OF SELECTED FILES. Compiled by *Kenneth Munden*. (Washington, the National Archives, 1942, pp. xii, 91.)

GRASS ROOTS POLITICS: NATIONAL VOTING BEHAVIOR OF TYPICAL STATES. By *Harold F. Gosnell*. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. ix, 195, cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.50.) This study, comprising a brief introduction on "Straw Ballots versus Real Ballots" and a concluding chapter on "The Future of the Party System," as well as chapters on county votes in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Iowa, California, Illinois, and Louisiana, is not the work of a historian, nor does it pretend to survey in time sequence the period 1896-1936, or 1924-40, but the materials used are of interest to the student of history, and the subject, insofar as it relates to the actual record, is of interest to all students of political history. The historian, if he deals with what the author has termed "Grass Roots," still finds it of first value to have his facts and his sources and, above all, the sure and steady sense that all of this process did not begin in 1896 or in 1924 when, for some, the devices for studying behavior became of greater interest than the story itself. In view of the fact that Dr. Gosnell dismisses state and nation in favor of the county as a voting unit for his maps and his tables, it is surprising to find no indication of the sources he uses, nor appreciation of the changes that are constantly taking place in these units.

We can only surmise the source of the maps on pages 12, 19, and 20. There is one footnote reference to Paullin's great work, but that would not explain these maps. And there are errors in figures given in the tables on pages 147, 149, 151, 153, 154, and 23. These errors are slight, perhaps do not change the result; but in a study given over largely to hypotheses and conclusions based upon thousands of figures, it would be helpful and reassuring to have the sources. Wisconsin did not "overwhelmingly cast its vote for La Follette in 1924." The statement as to the probable division of California in the fifties is incorrect. Wilson did not hold the Bryan vote in 1912. Wilson did far more than win support in the West and South in 1916. John W. Davis did not have the lowest vote cast for a Democratic candidate since the Civil War. It is not true that Wilson did not take a definite stand on the war in the campaign of 1916. It is open to question whether the New Deal elections were "more like the election of 1896 than that of 1860." The author states that the "study does not purport to be a party history but rather an analysis of the composition of American parties." As such it should be judged.

EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON

WILSON'S IDEALS. Edited by *Saul K. Padover*. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. 151, cloth \$2.50, paper \$2.00.) This is a small volume of eminently quotable utterances by an eminently quotable statesman whose ideals express America at its notable best.

PRELIMINARY INVENTORY OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE RECORDS, 1916-1921. [The National Archives, Preliminary Inventory, Number 2.] (Washington, the National Archives, 1942, pp. xvii, 75.)

SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Selected and edited by *Robert Birley*. Vol. IV, 1914-1939. [The World's Classics, CDXCI.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. xix, 300, 95 cents.)

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT BIBLIOGRAPHY IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE. By *James B. Childs*, Chief of the Division of Documents. [The Library of Congress Division of Documents.] Third edition. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. xviii, 78, 20 cents.) The first edition of this bibliography was issued in 1927, the second in 1930. The intervening twelve years have not only supplied much additional material for such a bibliography but also an enhancement of the desire and the need for the present enlargement. In his introduction the author furnishes a general account of the catalogues and other bibliographical guides to government publications—Federal, state, and some foreign governments—to the present time. The *Government Document Bibliography* here offered is of course a bibliography of bibliographies and is in five sections, namely: the United States (twelve pages), the Confederate states of America (one page), the states (general and individual states, twenty pages), foreign countries (general and individual, forty pages), and, lastly, the League of Nations (two pages).

PEACE AND WAR: UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, 1931-1941. [Department of State Publication, Number 1853.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. 151, 25 cents.) "What has been called the 'American White Paper,' an introduction to a collection of documents, soon to be published, concerning U. S. foreign relations during the decade 1931-1941." This is probably the first government document to be listed in the *Publishers Weekly* as a best seller.

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Edited by *Leland M. Goodrich* and others. Volume IV, JULY, 1941-JUNE, 1942. (Boston, World Peace

Foundation, 1942, pp. 947, \$3.75.) "A reference source book and documentary record of an important year in American foreign relations, marked by the entrance of the United States into the war against the Axis Powers."

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND WORLD WAR II. Edited by *Jerome K. Wilcox*, Chairman. [Papers presented before the Committee on Documents, American Library Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 23 & 25, 1942.] (Chicago, American Library Association, 1942, pp. 118, \$2.00.)

STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK, 1942. Edited by *M. Epstein*. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 1502, \$7.50.)

AND KEEP YOUR POWDER DRY: AN ANTHROPOLOGIST LOOKS AT AMERICA. By *Margaret Mead*. (New York, William Morrow, 1942, pp. 284, \$2.50.) "An American anthropologist, using her knowledge of seven other cultures, critically discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the American character."

THE RIDDLE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT. By *Robert Bendiner*. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, pp. xiii, 231, \$2.00.) This volume, by an editor of *The Nation*, is a brief critical review of the policy of the state department in the last ten years, with a description of its organization and a characterization of its personnel and methods of recruiting its staff. The policy is characterized as appeasement and condemned without any reference to the policy of European nations having primary interests and responsibilities or to American opinion. In general the author scores the department whether it acts or does not act and, of course, without all the evidence needed for a sound judgment. The discussion of major and minor personalities is frank and, although many are found misfits on the basis of evidence a historian would mistrust, there is an obvious attempt not to be unjust. It is interesting that the more recent appointees as well as a few with historical training are viewed more optimistically. The discussion of what to do about it puts the burden on Congress. When its members are chosen with some regard to their stand on foreign policy, a change in the department may be hoped for. The recent congressional contests would indicate that the author would have to wait some time for the cure of what he thinks are the shortcomings in the conduct of our foreign policy and its implementation.

THE IMPACT OF THE WAR ON AMERICA. Six Lectures by Members of the Faculty of Cornell University. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1942, pp. viii, 159, \$2.00.) It was a praiseworthy idea, at a time when the public was warned, exhorted, screamed at, and denounced, for six members of the Cornell faculty to join in setting forth, as clearly and tersely as possible, the impact of the war upon the country in the light of past experience and future probabilities. Each lecture starts with a brief survey of the prewar situation in its particular line and then, coolly and soberly, indicates what may be expected. There is nothing particularly challenging in any of them, for it is not their aim to be provocative. Their restrained and balanced point of view contrasts favorably with most of the current war analysis and propaganda. The only conspicuous lack is one to which co-operative works are liable, namely, incompleteness. No Cornell professor was prepared to supply any lectures on two highly important results of the war: that of the economic impact and that of the profoundly significant swing in American opinion from isolationist pacifism in 1937 to a readiness to risk war in 1941. Lacking any supporting treatment of these subjects, the lectures on labor and on constitutional interpretation seem fragmentary, and three of the chapters on foreign relations—those on the United States and Great Britain, the United States and the Far East, and postwar organization—distinctly suffer. It is

impossible to account for American policies up to 1941 on purely diplomatic grounds. It is to be observed that Professor Mosely, in his chapter on the United States and the balance of power, recognizes the American emotional background. The only lapse from the prevailing cool judgment which the reviewer noted was Professor Biggerstaff's characterization of the American policy toward Japan as one of "appeasement." This is scarcely accurate. There was never any "Munich" at China's expense.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH

AMERICA AT WAR: A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS. Edited by *Samuel van Valkenburg*. Foreword by Wallace W. Atwood. [Prentice-Hall Geography Series.] (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1942, pp. 310, \$2.50.) "Six geographers have contributed to this study of America's position in a world at war."

THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES IN A CHANGING WORLD. By *Frederick Kenneth Branom*. (New York, W. H. Sadlier, 1942, pp. 347, \$3.00.) "Intended for prospective teachers and for those teachers in service in the elementary grades and high schools."

YOUTH IN THE CCC CAMPS: PREPARED FOR THE AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION. By *Kenneth Holland* and *Frank Ernest Hill*. (Washington, American Council on Education, 1942, pp. 278, \$2.25.) "The life, work, and personnel of the CCC camps and the history of the organization."

THE AMERICAN JEW: A COMPOSITE PORTRAIT. Edited by *Oscar Isaiah Janowsky*. (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. 336, \$2.50.)

BRANDEIS ON ZIONISM. By *Louis Dembitz Brandeis*. Foreword by Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter. (Washington, Zionist Organization of America, 1720 16th St., 1942, pp. 164, \$1.50.) "A collection of addresses and statements of the late Justice Brandeis on the Zionist movement."

ANGEL MO' AND HER SON, ROLAND HAYES. By *MacKinley Helm*. [Atlantic Monthly Press Book.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1942, pp. 297, \$2.75.)

THANKSGIVING AND HARVEST FESTIVALS. By *Margaret R. Scherer*. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1942, 25 cents.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER, OCTOBER 15, 1941. Volume 51, Part 2. (Worcester, the Society, 1942, pp. 223-395, xxvi, \$1.50.) Professor Samuel Eliot Morison was elected president of the society, and two articles—"Horatio Gates Spafford and His Historical Activities," by Julian P. Boyd, and "The First Press in Providence," by Lawrence C. Wroth—were read.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ACCEPTED BY AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, 1941-1942. Edited by *Edward Atwood Henry*. [No. 9.] (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1942, pp. 141, \$2.50.)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES SUMMARIES OF THESES ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY—1940. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. 481, \$2.00.)

ULRICH'S PERIODICALS DIRECTORY: A CLASSIFIED GUIDE TO A SELECTED LIST OF CURRENT PERIODICALS, INTER-AMERICAN EDITION. Edited by *Carolyn Farquhar Ulrich*. (New York, R. R. Bowker, 1942, pp. 328, \$10.00.)

"A directory of periodicals published in all the American countries. The subject headings are given in both English and Spanish."

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- JEAN DELANGLEZ. Franquelin, Mapmaker. *Mid-America*, Jan.
- VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS. Proposal of Henry Stevens for a "Bibliographia Americana" to the Year 1700, to Be Published by the Smithsonian Institution. *Papers Bibliograph. Soc. Am.*, Fourth Quarter.
- DAVID L. COWEN. America's First Pharmacy Laws. *Jour. Am. Pharm. Assoc.*, May.
- FELIX S. COHEN. The Spanish Origins of Indian Rights in the Law of the United States. *Georgetown Law Jour.*, Nov.
- WALTON E. BEAN. War and the British Colonial Farmer: A Reëvaluation in the Light of New Statistical Records. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Dec.
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- FREDERICK B. TOLLES. John Woolman's List of "Books Lent." *Bull. Friends Hist. Assoc.*, Autumn.
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- JOHN W. WAYLAND. John Henri Kagi, John Brown's Secretary of War. *Americana*, Oct.
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- DONALD M. DOZER. Secretary of State Elihu Root and Consular Reorganization. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Dec.
- JOHN C. WEAVER. Barley in the United States: A Historical Sketch. *Geograph. Rev.*, Jan.
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- E. S. EVENDEN. Lessons from the War of 1917-1918. *Educ. Rec.*, Oct.
- DIXON WECTER. Lincoln, Mark Twain, and the Human Race. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.*, Dec.
- WILLARD N. HOGAN. The WPA Research and Records Program. *Harvard Educ. Rev.*, Jan.
- DOROTHY B. PORTER. David Ruggles, an Apostle of Human Rights. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Jan.
- LILLIAN SMITH ALBERT. Faint Old Political Buttons. *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, Jan.
- DOROTHY G. HARRIS. History of Friends' Meeting Libraries. *Bull. Friends Hist. Assoc.*, Autumn.
- WALTER HERBERT STOWE. Immigration and the Growth of the Episcopal Church. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, Dec.
- MIECZYSLAW HAIMAN. Problems of Polish-American History Writing (in the Commission for Research on Polish Migration). *Bull. Polish Inst. Arts and Sci. in Am.*, Jan.
- JAMES O. WETTEREAU. The Branches of the First Bank of the United States. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Dec. (supplement).
- C. C. CRITTENDEN. Our Association and the Future [American Association for State and Local History]. *Michigan Hist.*, Winter.
- GEORGE WILSON PIERSON. American Historians and the Frontier Hypothesis in 1941. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Sept., Dec.
- Our Associates in the War. *Indiana Hist. Bull.*, Nov., Dec.
- H. GARY HUDSON and WALTER B. HENDRICKSON. History in War Time. *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, Dec.
- CARROL H. QUENZEL. A Suggested Wartime Program for County Historical Societies. *West Virginia Hist.*, Jan.

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HOWARD H. PECKHAM. James Tanner's Account of Lincoln's Death. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.*, Dec.

IRVING BERNSTEIN. Samuel Gompers and Free Silver, 1896. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Dec.

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT FOR THE YEAR 1782, WITH THE JOURNAL OF THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY FROM JANUARY 17, 1782, TO DECEMBER 16, 1782, INCLUSIVE. Compiled by *Leonard Woods Labaree*, State Historian. (Hartford, published by the state, 1942, pp. 341.)

NEW YORK CITY, THEN AND NOW, 1626-1942. Issued by the New-York Historical Society from original pictures in its collection. (New York, New-York Historical Society, 1942, pp. 31.)

THE PORT OF NEW YORK AUTHORITY. By *Erwin Wilkie Bard*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 468.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 362, \$3.50.)

RESOURCES OF NEW YORK CITY LIBRARIES: A SURVEY OF FACILITIES FOR ADVANCED STUDY AND RESEARCH. By *Robert B. Downs*, Director of Libraries, New York University. Sponsored by the A. L. A. Board on Resources of American Libraries. (Chicago, American Library Association, 1942, pp. xiii, 442, \$4.50.) The title indicates the character of the volume. It is an indispensable first aid to the scholar who plans to work in New York libraries or wants to know in a general way their resources. The full bibliography will lead him to the detailed guides by fields or by libraries. Nearly four hundred libraries are listed and described, with a total wealth of 16,500,000 volumes.

THE HUNDRED YEAR BOOK: BEING THE STORY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HUNDRED YEAR ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK. Edited by *Philip N. Schuyler*. (New York, A. S. Barnes, 1942, pp. 239, \$5.00.) "Brief sketches of the New York business firms which have been in existence one hundred years or over."

EDUCATION IN NEW JERSEY, 1630-1871. By *Nelson R. Burr*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942, pp. 355, \$3.75.) This book is one of the volumes in the Princeton History of New Jersey. Something over half of the book is given to tracing seriatim the educational concerns of ten religious strains in New Jersey history from European roots to 1871—Dutch Calvinist, Swedish Lutheran, Quaker, Anglican, Pietist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, and Jewish. Dr. Burr tells much of the ideals, hopes, and proposals of churchmen and of the resolutions and recommendations of church bodies, but the reader misses an appraisal of the actual range and significance of these parochial systems, as he does some portrayal of New Jersey youngsters in the actual process of getting educated. The seriatim treatment with no cumulative picture tends to leave the forest obscured by the trees. The Dutch and Presbyterian colleges and theological seminaries are excellently portrayed. These, with the parochial and collegiate schools of the Catholic church, are the chief deposits of this religious period. Turning to the public school, after tracing its roots back to the Middle Ages, the author rightly has set it in the framework of emerging democracy and developing industrialism. This development is similar to that in other states, though so retarded by the churches that New Jersey was the last state to abolish the "rate-bill," which she did in 1871. This is a comprehensive and forthright account.

The book is heavily documented and has an extensive bibliography. The New Brunswick Theological Seminary on page 25 is designated as the "first in the United States," though on page 306 it is noted only as "sometimes claimed as the first." An occasional immature sentence slips in: "The effort to attain universal and compulsory education was postponed in England for two centuries by the Restoration of 1660." This is unwarranted by context and reasonable rules of evidence. IRVING S. KULL

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- EDMUND S. MORGAN. The Puritans and Sex. *New Eng. Quar.*, Dec.
 RICHARD LeBARON BOWEN. Early Rehoboth Families and Events: Early Counterfeiting [cont.]. *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan.
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 JOHN SPARGO. Early Vermont Printers and Printing. *Proc. Vermont Hist. Soc.*, Dec.
 EARLE WILLIAMS NEWTON. Architecture and History: "Preservationism" and "Functionalism" in Vermont. *Ibid.*
 HENRY WYCKOFF BELKNAP. A Check List of Salem Privateers in the War of 1812 [cont.]. *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, Jan.
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 FRANK COLEGROVE. Green Hill, Worcester, Massachusetts, and Its Family, "The Greens of Green Hill." *Worcester Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Sept.
 ALBERT FARNSWORTH. The Lincoln Farm, Present Site of the Worcester State Teachers College. *Ibid.*
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 HOWARD T. LUTZ. The Text-Book Association of Philadelphia [1866-1909]. *Bull. Friends Hist. Assoc.*, Autumn.

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OSCAR G. DARLINGTON. Long Island under Martial Law [1779-81]. *Nassau County Hist. Jour.*, Fall.

The Civil War Letters of Captain Charles Kennedy [cont.]. *Staten Island Historian*, Oct.

The Henry Knox Letters [nine letters of General Henry Knox, 1776-86]. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, Jan.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

JOHN JACOBUS FLOURNOY: CHAMPION OF THE COMMON MAN IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH. By *E. Merton Coulter*. (Savannah, Georgia Historical Society, 1942, pp. vii, 112, \$2.00.)

RECORDS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C., 1940-1941. Volume 42-43. Edited by *Newman F. McGirr*. (Washington, the Society, 1942, pp. viii, 309, \$3.00.) These annual volumes are always by reason of some of the papers of more than local interest. Even the papers on the history of the District of Columbia and the city of Washington are rarely without some interest to those whose locale may be far from the Potomac. One may venture to mention three papers in this volume: "The Activities of Peter Force," by Newman F. McGirr, and "Material in the National Archives relating to the Early History of the District of Columbia," by Elizabeth Bethel. C. O. Paullin continues his studies of landholding and landholders in and around Washington by a paper on "Virginia's Glebe near Washington."

MARYLAND MAIN AND THE EASTERN SHORE. By *Hulbert Footner*. Illustrated by Louis Ruyl. (New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1942, pp. xi, 331, \$5.00.) Intended not as history but rather as a genial commentary on the places, people, manners, and customs in Maryland, this book succeeds admirably in presenting the state—to native and outlander as well. Maryland's war industries have brought in hundreds of thousands of people who are often baffled by the "Free-State's" peculiarities. For example, it outrages citizens who have come from afar to discover (usually too late) that in order to vote in Maryland they must take out Maryland citizenship papers: file a document known as a "Declaration of Intention" a full year before the registration preceding election day. Mr. Footner, himself a Marylander by "naturalization," is well suited to the agreeable task of explaining what makes his state worth living in permanently. The book is written *con amore*, and that is both its chief charm and its chief fault. The volume treats, successively, Baltimore, the middle counties, western Maryland, the Eastern Shore, and southern Maryland. The flavor of each region, remarkably distinct, is very winningly preserved. It is a casual, in fact a rather off-hand, running chronicle. Its distinction lies in the anecdotal, "local history" quality. Good stories abound, and the author does not chill them with skepticism—he even accepts as "the true history of the genesis" of the Chesapeake Bay Retriever the familiar waterman's explanation that the dog is a cross between Irish setter and otter. There are lively descriptions of ring tournaments, sailing races, steeplechasing, fox hunting, and cocking mains. Mellow old place names, such as Harbre de Venture, His Lordship's Kindness, and Folly Quarter, are explained with loving detail. Fond attention is given to Maryland cookery. In the section on Baltimore there is an intimate chapter on the Menckens (H. L. and August) and their neighborhood. The author accepts the view that "the spirit of Maryland derives from Tolerance and Tobacco." As a recipe for an evening of contentment, his book and a good pipe will serve very well indeed. The many illustrations by Louis Ruyl faithfully complement the text. There is a rather casual index.

R. P. HARRISS

CATALOGUE OF ARCHIVAL MATERIAL, HALL OF RECORDS, STATE OF MARYLAND. [Publications of the Hall of Records Commission, No. 2.] (Annapolis, Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland, 1942, pp. 161.)

VIRGINIA IS A STATE OF MIND. By *Virginia Moore*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1942, pp. 332, \$3.00.)

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION: FORTY YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE, 1903-1943. (Raleigh, North Carolina Historical Commission, 1942, pp. v, 115.)

A BALCONY IN CHARLESTON. By *Mary Scott Saint-Amand*. With a Foreword by Archibald Rutledge. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1941, pp. xii, 157, \$3.00.) Caroline Howard Gilman (1794-1888), although known as a Southern writer, was born in Boston of an old New England family. In 1819 she accompanied her husband, Samuel Gilman, a Unitarian minister, to Charleston, South Carolina, and for over fifty years she made this city her home. Mrs. Gilman soon turned to account her literary ability and in 1832 edited the *Southern Rosebud*, one of the earliest children's papers in the United States. Other volumes appeared in close succession: *Recollections of a New England Housekeeper* (1834), *Recollections of a Southern Matron* (1836), *The Poetry of Travelling in the United States* (1838), and several books of verse. Samuel Gilman also had a ready pen and it is for his ode "Fair Harvard" that he is best remembered. A short time after Caroline Gilman arrived in Charleston she found the city stirred over nullification and, although she feared civil war even then, she was determined to remain. "The truth is the South is dearer to us for its troubles." When her husband died, she continued to make Charleston her home, and her enthusiasm for the Confederacy and rancor during Reconstruction equaled that of any native Southerner. In 1870 she returned to Massachusetts to live. "The narrowness and hardness about the South made me hard and narrow, and I must avoid that poor spirit." *A Balcony in Charleston* is not a biography. Nearly half of the book is devoted to the printing of old Charleston recipes, and a large portion is taken up with reprints from Mrs. Gilman's various works. The letters contained are valuable for the picture they give of social Charleston and for the attack on Fort Sumter. Unfortunately they are poorly edited: the letters are not arranged chronologically and the sources are not shown. The misspelling of *The Letters of Eliza Wilkinson during the Invasion of Charleston*, which Caroline Gilman edited, is typical of the numerous errors it contains.

CHARLES LEROY ANGER

GEORGIA: UNFINISHED STATE. By *Hal Steed*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1942, pp. xvi, 336, viii, \$3.50.) This is the sixth in the series of state guides being published by Knopf under the general title *The American Scene*. The jacket blurb makes no mistake in referring to it as the "most informal of informal state guides." It is written in a journalistic, often chatty style, and it holds the interest. The author is a native Georgian who was for thirty-two years on the staff of one or another of Atlanta's three daily papers. More recently he has been a traveling accountant. Both lines of work have taken him many times into all parts of the state. His picture is necessarily sketchy and incomplete, as he is the first to admit. Georgia's history from its founding to the present "is too rich and varied, its present-day social and economic problems too complex, to be dealt with adequately in one volume" (p. vii). He says, quite truly, that he has neither whitewashed nor muckraked his native state. He reveals some of its uglier as well as more charming features. There are scraps of history here and there from James Oglethorpe to Gene Talmadge; there are numerous

legends and traditions from tidewater to the Blue Ridge, but these are plainly labeled as such. Most of the book deals with economic and social life at various levels, country and town.

ALEX MATHEWS ARNETT

LOUISIANA IMPRINTS, 1768-1810: IN SUPPLEMENT TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY IN "EARLY PRINTING IN NEW ORLEANS." By *Douglas C. McMurtrie*. [Heartman's Historical Series, Number 62.] (Hattiesburg, Book Farm, 1942, pp. 65, \$4.85.)

HENNEPIN'S "DESCRIPTION OF LOUISIANA": A CRITICAL ESSAY. By *Jean Delanglez*, Assistant Professor of History, Loyola University, Chicago. [Institute of Jesuit History Publications.] (Chicago, Institute of Jesuit History, 1941, pp. viii, 164, \$2.70.) Father Hennepin's false claim of having explored the Mississippi to its mouth (made in his *Nouvelle Découverte* of 1697) has naturally cast suspicion upon the authenticity of his other works. Two schools of thought with respect to his *Description of Louisiana* appeared during the nineteenth century. Pierre Margry held that it was a plagiarism of a manuscript, *Relation des découvertes et des voyages du Sieur de la Salle . . . 1679, 80-81*, preserved in the Archives du service hydrographique. John Gilmary Shea, Margry's bitter enemy, held, on the other hand, that the then unknown author of the undated *Relation* (later identified as the Abbé Claude Bernou, who drew on La Salle's letters) had pirated Hennepin's *Description*. Here was a most intriguing problem in the field of historical criticism, and it is strange that no attempt was made to solve it until our own time. Seeking a solution, Marc de Villiers in 1929 at length set forth the view that Hennepin had not wantonly pilfered the *Relation* but had merely incorporated some two hundred pages which a friend had recast for him in his own *Description*. This made little sense. Now, following the approved canons of historical research, Professor Delanglez, an authority on La Salle, whose achievements Hennepin sought to discredit, concludes that the first two thirds of the *Description* is indeed a plagiarism of the first third of the *Relation* and that the map appearing in the *Description* is an adaptation of a map which Bernou helped compile in 1682. His book is highly recommended to all interested in literary detective work and, above all, to seminar students mastering the technique of authenticating texts.

LOWELL RAGATZ

HISTORY OF REFUGIO MISSION. By *William H. Oberste*. (Refugio, Texas, Refugio Timely Remarks, 1942, pp. 311, \$5.00.)

TWENTIETH CENTURY TEXAS: AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY. By *Ralph W. Steen*. (Austin, Steck Company, 1942, pp. 370, \$3.00.) The author of this work, who is an associate professor of history at the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, acknowledges in his preface that it "presents at best a sketchy story of Texas in the first four decades of our century." This is true, but there is some modesty in this statement. The book is a rather good work of its kind, though its subtitle is a little ambitious. After an introductory chapter on "The Land and Its People," less than one third of the remainder of the volume is devoted to the economic story, under three chapter headings: "Farm and Ranch," "Industrial Development," and "Transportation in Texas." The rest is the social story, with such chapters as "Development and Expansion of Education," "The Wards of the State," "The Prohibition Crusade and After," "Women in Texas," and "Governmental Development." It has a pretty full bibliography and a good index. The author indicates his object is that of giving the reader the impression of "constant, even remarkable progress" and of leaving him convinced that "the determination and optimism of the people of Texas are as great as the area of their State." On the whole, he attains that object, and without any of the enthusiastic exaggeration of the Chamber of

Commerce booster. For the most part it is a factual account in narrative form, with satisfactory documentation. Its limitations are those of any attempt to treat contemporary events historically, where space compels selection and appraisal of relative significance. Probably no two writers would include the same things or agree on values. Mr. Steen's choice is usually sound, his judgment good, and his tone temperate.

PETER MOLYNEAUX

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- KENNETH M. STAMPP. The Fate of Southern Antislavery Sentiment. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Jan.
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- THOMAS P. GOVAN. Was Plantation Slavery Profitable? *Ibid.*
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- DOROTHY MACKAY and WILLIAM ROGERS QUINN. Barbara Frietschie: Appendix. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, Dec.
- CHARLES BRANCH CLARK. Politics in Maryland during the Civil War [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- TALBOT HAMLIN. Benjamin Henry Latrobe: The Man and the Architect. *Ibid.*
- W. CALVIN CHESNUT. The Work of the Federal Court of Maryland. *Ibid.*
- ALEXANDER W. WEDDELL. A Footnote to an Old Story. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Jan.
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- JOHN C. PEARSON. The Fish and Fisheries of Colonial Virginia [II]. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, Oct.
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- FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON. Footnotes on Some XVII Century Virginians. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Jan.
- MRS. HENRY LOWELL COOK. Maids for Wives [concl.]. *Ibid.*
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- LEONARD BLOOM. The Acculturation of the Eastern Cherokee: Historical Aspects. *Ibid.*
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- SALLIE LACY HUMBLE. The Ouachita Valley Expedition of De Soto. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, July.
- THOMAS R. LANDRY. The Political Career of Robert Charles Wickliffe, Governor of Louisiana, 1856-1860. *Ibid.*
- BETTY PORTER. The History of Negro Education in Louisiana. *Ibid.*
- RALPH G. LOUNSBURY. Early Texas and the National Archives. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Jan.
- WILLIAM STANLEY HOOLE. Simms' *Michael Bonham*: A "Forgotten" Drama of the Texas Revolution. *Ibid.*
- ANDREW FOREST MUIR. The Free Negro in Harris County, Texas. *Ibid.*

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- HOWARD R. MARRARO. Mazzei's Correspondence with the Grand Duke of Tuscany during His American Mission [II]. *Ibid.*
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- DAGMAR R. LE BRETON and MITCHELL FRANKLIN. A Late Letter by Edward Livingston on the Criminal Law of Louisiana [Jan. 2, 1835]. *Tulane Law Rev.*, Nov.
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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

SHAKERISM IN KENTUCKY: FOUNDED IN AMERICA BY ANN LEE. By *Marywebb Gibson*. (Cynthiana, Hobson Press, 1942, pp. 150, \$1.50.) An account of the Shakers of Kentucky and especially their settlement at Pleasant Hill of Shaker-town.

TENNESSEE SENATORS, AS SEEN BY ONE OF THEIR SUCCESSORS. By *Kenneth McKellar*. (Kingsport, Southern Publishers, 1942, pp. 637, \$3.00.)

THE COURSES OF THE OHIO RIVER, TAKEN BY LT. T. HUTCHINS, ANNO 1766, AND TWO ACCOMPANYING MAPS. Edited by *Beverley W. Bond, jr.*, Curator, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, and Professor of History, University of Cincinnati. (Cincinnati, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1942, pp. 85, \$3.00.) Besides items indicated in the above caption the publication here reviewed contains *Table of Distances from Fort Pitt to the Mouth of the Ohio, 1766*, compiled by Captain Harry Gordon; *Explorations and Table from Hutchins' Map, 1762*; and *Hutchins' Itinerary of a Tour from Fort Cumberland North Westward etc. 1762*. The major portion (17-75 pages) is, however, used for the first reproduction of *The Courses of the Ohio River*, as determined by "an exact survey" made by Hutchins. For the upper waters these courses are numbered, and throughout the entire stream they are described with respect to lengths, water stages, and the time then required to navigate them. As indicated by the editor, they served as the basis of Captain Harry Gordon's map of 1766, "the first known map of the Ohio which gives accurate details." As the Hutchins map of 1862 is only a geographical outline of the Ohio region, it is a supplement to the Gordon map. Although "The Courses," as determined by Hutchins, have since been obscured and in some places even nullified by man, with the aid of nature, they are informing to the historian and the cartographer. There are those among the former who will therefore be surprised to learn that the editor accepts without question "ye old time claim" regarding La Salle's alleged discovery and descent of the Ohio in 1669. Moreover, his river is almost one hundred miles longer than that known to present-day engineers. Yet knowledge of the former is based upon alleged "accurate details." The publication is, however, entirely worth while and represents careful study on the part of the editor.

CHARLES H. AMBLER

MICHIGAN POLITICS IN TRANSITION: AN AREAL STUDY OF VOTING TRENDS IN THE LAST DECADE. By *James K. Eldersveld* and *Samuel J. Eldersveld*. [University of Michigan Governmental Studies, No. 10.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1942, pp. 74, 40 cents.)

GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY. Compiled by *Howard H. Peckham*, Curator of Manuscripts. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1942, pp. xvi, 403, \$5.00.) This admirable *Guide* is essentially a classified list of over 12,000 names of writers of letters or documents to be found among the indispensable treasures of the Clements Library. The Library has 172 manuscript collections, several no more than a single volume (or folio box) each, some running to as many volumes or boxes as 70 (Nathanael Greene), 93 (John Wilson Croker), 179 (Lord Shelburne), 180 (Thomas Gage), 260 (Sir Henry Clinton). In the space permitted Mr. Peckham, anything like a calendar or subject index was impossible. He therefore limited himself to an alphabetical list of names of correspondents or authors in each collection, with a general index of names at the end of his book. Each alphabetical list is prefaced with a brief account of the particular collection, indicating the ground and time it covers, with a note on the provenance where that is known. Appendix A is a topical and chronological list of the collections which some readers may find surprising. The library is richest in materials on British and North American history down to 1800; but it has valuable sources for the Napoleonic Wars, the War of 1812 and the Treaty of Ghent, the Westward migration and the antislavery movement, and parliamentary reform, with notable materials on American book collectors, and a large and fine manuscript collection relating to Hispanic-American and Philippine history. Appendix B, maps in the manuscript collections, is by the expert hand of Lloyd A. Brown, formerly curator of maps at the Clements Library. Appendix D, printed editions of Clements Library manuscripts, lists books made up wholly or in large part of manuscripts from the collections, some of them printed before they were acquired by the library. This list is already impressive, but it will be increasingly impressive as more and more scholars become effectively aware that the relations between Great Britain and the British colonies on the continent of North America cannot be exhaustively studied without a visit to Ann Arbor, and that the military operations of the British in America from 1763 to 1782 can be importantly studied nowhere else. As the author of two historical studies which could not have been written without access to the Clements Library, I can testify to the almost incredible riches of its collections, out of which scores, even hundreds, of monographs are sure to come sooner or later—and perhaps some day the satisfactory and satisfying history of the American Revolution that has not yet been written.

CARL VAN DOREN

THE TRAIL OF DEATH: LETTERS OF BENJAMIN MARIE PETIT. By *Irving McKee*. [Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume XIV, Number 1.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1941, pp. 141, 75 cents.) Mission work among the Indians of northern Indiana and the forced migration of a band of Potawatomies to the west of the Missouri River are mirrored in the letters of a young and devoted French Catholic missionary during the three years from 1836 to 1838. Entering enthusiastically upon his labors, he soon learned enough Potawatomi to hear confession without an interpreter and described himself as an Indian. He sided with the Indians and against the frontiersmen as the advance of the latter threatened to put an end to his mission. He regarded his half-Christianized charges as simple children of the forest, the frontiersmen as crude, rough heretics, and the government of the United States as unjust. Although his bishop successfully restrained him, but not without difficulty, from becoming involved in the Indian resistance to the government's policy of Indian removal, he was charged with causing the resistance. During the migration the suffering of the Indians is emphasized, although it was not demonstrated that the illness and deaths were caused by the removal. A brief journal and expense account, bap-

tismal entries, and a short introduction and conclusion are also included. No attempt was made to treat the broad aspects of the removal policy, and documents not written by Petit were not included. Newspaper notices could have been found, and very recently several documents relating to the removal of the Potawatomics were uncovered at the Indiana University Library. The mechanics of the volume are excellent. The chief value of the evidence here presented is not that it is less prejudiced but that the prejudices may serve to counteract the bias of other accounts.

JOHN D. BARNHART

RELIGION AND EDUCATION ON THE FRONTIER: A LIFE OF STEPHEN PEET. By *Lawrence E. Murphy*. (Dubuque, author, 1470 Delhi Street, n.d., pp. 146, \$1.75.) A life of the founder of Beloit College and the Chicago Theological Seminary.

THE WISCONSIN: RIVER OF A THOUSAND ISLES. By *August Derleth*. Illustrated by John Steuart Curry. [Rivers of America.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, pp. 377, \$2.50.)

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN: PROCEEDINGS . . . AT ITS EIGHTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING, HELD OCTOBER 16, 1941. (Madison, the Society, 1942.)

THE EARLY DAYS OF ROCK ISLAND AND DAVENPORT. By *John W. Spencer* and *John M. D. Burrows*. Edited by *Milo Milton Quaije*. [Lakeside Classics.] (Chicago, Lakeside Press, 1942, pp. 334, not for sale.)

A HISTORY OF THE IOWA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS. By *Earle D. Ross*, Chairman of the Committee on History of the College. (Ames, Iowa State College Press, 1942, pp. xvii, 451, \$3.00.) It may be said at once that this volume is a highly creditable and workmanlike contribution to the history of higher education in America. The author has told his story adequately and as the sources revealed it. Regrettable as it may be, it was perhaps inevitable that Iowa should have divided her support and loyalty between two institutions when the first one established, the state university, took no interest in agriculture until the Morrill Act stirred it to the first rivalry with the "Farmers College" for a share in the Federal funds. The rivalry has continued ever since and has been a costly one in many senses. Despite it, two strong institutions with excellent staffs, standards, and equipment have emerged. The book has little to do with the issues suggested above. It is the straightforward story of the institution at Ames. When one considers the unhappy beginnings, the interference of interests, and a succession until fairly recent times of unsuitable presidents, it is a mystery how Ames survived and achieved leadership in its field. The answer in part at least is that it was blessed with self-sacrificing and devoted members of the staff who as deans and professors kept the institution on its course as one inept pilot after another was dropped overboard. The treatment of disturbing incidents is forthright yet restrained, and the steady educational progress is revealed undiluted by any idle boasting. G. S. F.

A REFERENCE GUIDE TO IOWA HISTORY. Compiled by *William J. Petersen*. [Information Series, Bulletin No. 17.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1942, pp. 151, apply.)

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, 1892-1942: A HISTORY OF FIFTY YEARS. By *Roy Gittinger*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1942, pp. xii, 282, \$2.50.) This volume can, unfortunately, interest only alumni who want to hunt for names. Quite clearly the author felt he was too near the really interesting men and events

in the somewhat stormy career of the university. The noiseless and innocuous way in which he slides successive presidents and their successors out and in is a model for bypassing well-sown minefields. The University of Oklahoma Press, which has earned national recognition and produced a president of the university, certainly is a non-controversial subject and deserves as much space as the doggerel of college songs. It is to be hoped also that the alumni would have more pride in it. The best feature of the volume is the excellent format given it by this same press.

A HISTORY OF OKLAHOMA. By *Grant Foreman*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1942, pp. xiv, 384, \$3.50.) This volume describes different aspects of the history of Oklahoma. In it are described the conditions under which Indian tribes were settled and the opening of the areas vacated to white settlement. In these pages are depicted frontier activities, the destruction of the buffalo, the building of the first railroad in Indian Territory, the development of Oklahoma Territory and of Indian Territory, and eventually the emergence of the present state of Oklahoma. As one reads the story of the development of this interesting state, he is impressed with the uniqueness of its history. As the reader glances over the chapter headings he will be intrigued with such titles as "Historic Routes of Travel," "The Texas Road," "Mexican Intrusion," "Slaughter of Buffalo," "Dull Knife's Raid," "The Cattle Industry," "Allotment of Indian Land," "Sequoyah Convention," "Red River Bed Case," "Railroad Expansion," and "The Telephone." The reader may wish that Dr. Foreman had devoted more space to the activities of the outstanding missionaries, to the authors and their works, or to the period of the state's history since 1907. The lack of space perhaps limited the author when he undertook to survey the complex and interesting history of this unusual state in one volume. This, the fourteenth volume on the Oklahoma scene by Foreman, should be placed on the shelves of both public and college libraries. It should also be a welcome addition to the collections of those readers interested in state and regional history. The University of Oklahoma Press is to be congratulated upon the attractive appearance of *A History of Oklahoma*.

JAMES W. MOFFITT

GLANCES AT CALIFORNIA, 1847-1853: DIARIES OF WILLIAM RICH HUTTON.

Edited by *Willard O. Waters*. (San Marino, Huntington Library, 1942, pp. 106, \$2.00.)

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Latin-American History

J. W. Caughey

- INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1941: AN ANNUAL SURVEY. Edited by *Arthur Preston Whitaker*. No. 1. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 247, \$3.00.)
- LABOR IN LATIN AMERICA. A Survey by *Ernesto Galarza*. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. 16, 25 cents.)
- A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA. By *David Richard Moore*. [Prentice-Hall Books on History.] Revised edition. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1942, pp. 956, \$5.65, college edition \$4.25.)
- LATIN AMERICA: ITS PLACE IN WORLD LIFE. By *Samuel Guy Inman*. Revised edition. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1942, pp. viii, 466, \$3.75.) "Nearly half of the material in this revised edition is new."
- REPORTAGE ON MEXICO. By *Virginia Prewett*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1941, pp. 322, \$3.00.) The title of this book is an adequate description of its contents. Presumably it is a reporter's view of things Mexican. As such, it is filled with facts true and presumably true, with gossip that is accurate or presumably so, and with a host of good stories. It is not lack of information that need be complained of; it is the lack of critical evaluation of the information presented. All statements are not equally true, nor equally important—even in Mexico. One has somewhat the feeling that the book is written in a vacuum and that Mexico does not exist at all—that only politicians, generals, conspirators, and grafters exist and that the life of the country is a sum of their activities. Inadequate historical perspective and a failure to see the underlying forces that have shaped Mexican destiny give the facts presented a kind of unreality, so that even if every statement, conjecture, and private judgment were verifiable, it would still fall short of being a description of contemporary Mexico. Devoted as this volume is almost entirely to the revolution since 1910, a statement of the basic issues that precipitated the profoundest upheaval in Mexican history would have given the volume some basis for a perspective on the course of events that followed. Without such a basis, the strife of personalities becomes the theme of the volume—and Mexican politics as seen by not too friendly an observer are the least propitious gateway to an understanding of the country. The book has a great deal of interesting information and strong feelings about the inadequacy of the leadership that has guided Mexico. It presumes a purely personal motivation for the things that have occurred, and this tends to distort the picture. The volume is well written, and the material on Trotsky is both interesting and valuable. FRANK TANNENBAUM
- MEN OF MEXICO. By *James A. Magner*. (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1942, pp. 624, \$4.00.) "The history of Mexico viewed through the lives of her outstanding leaders, from Montezuma to Cárdenas."

LA MISIÓN HISTÓRICA DE CÓRDOBA. Por *Enrique Martínez Paz*, Director del Instituto. [Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Instituto de Estudios Americanistas, Cuadernos de Historia, I.] (Córdoba, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1941, pp. 30.)

MIS RELACIONES CON MÁXIMO GÓMEZ. Por *Orestes Ferrara*, Coronel del ejército libertador. Apéndice, MEMORIA SOBRE LA GUERRA DE INDEPENDENCIA, por *Lorenza Despradel*. Segunda edición. (La Habana, Molina y Compañía, 1942, pp. 314, \$1.00.) A delightful personal record by the well-known scholar Dr. Orestes Ferrara, now Cuban ambassador in Madrid, of the 1897 war for the independence of Cuba. The author gives us a brilliant analysis of the personality of the great general Maximo Gomez; his work is supplemented by an appendix containing a short account of the same campaign of 1897 by the Dominican writer Lorenzo Despradel.
J. C. ROCCA

REFORMA Y REVOLUCIÓN EN CUBA. Discurso leído por el Académico de Número, Dr. *Emetrio S. Santovenia*, Presidente de la Corporación, en la sesión solemne celebrada el 10 de Octubre de 1942. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (La Habana, imp. "El Siglo XX," 1942, pp. 42.)

ANALES DE LA ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA DE CUBA: PUBLICACIÓN ANUAL. [Tomo XXII, Enero-Diciembre, 1940.] (La Habana, imp. "El Siglo XX," 1942, pp. 95.)

ELOY ALFARO (1842-1911). Por Dr. *Federico de Córdova*. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, imp. "El Siglo XX," 1942, pp. 30.)

EL DOCTOR JENARO PÉREZ: MAGISTRADO Y ARTISTA CORDOBÉS. Por el Dr. *Rafael Moyano López*. [Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Instituto de Estudios Americanistas, Cuaderno de Historia, III.] (Córdoba, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1942, pp. 48.)

LA FILOSOFÍA EN LA UNIVERSIDAD DE CÓRDOBA A FINES DEL SIGLO XVIII: UN NUEVO DOCUMENTO. Por *Raúl A. Orgaz*, miembro del Instituto. [Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Instituto de Estudios Americanistas, Cuadernos de Historia, II.] (Córdoba, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1942, pp. 46.)

BROTHERS OF DOOM: THE STORY OF THE PIZARROS OF PERU. By *Hoffman Birney*. (New York, G. P. Putnam's, 1942, pp. x, 322, \$3.00.) This book, as its title indicates, is written in the romantic vein and offers nothing new to the serious student. The author's note (p. vii) states that it has been "my privilege to travel over much of the territory where the Pizarros and their companions marched and fought, to follow the trails which they must have traveled because none other exist in the land, and to cross the passes, which they must have crossed because only at those points could the ramparts of the cordillera be surmounted." He then reveals that most of this travel was by air; indeed an inadequate substitute for the actual trail with diary in hand! The bibliography which follows gives no selection of the modern works in Spanish which treat of the period, and Sir Clements R. Markham's translations are accepted at face value, despite modern criticism of the most devastating character. The most recent work cited bears the date 1935, and chapter xv is written with no reference to the original La Gasca-Gonzalo Pizarro correspondence in the Library of Congress and the Huntington Library. It affords some pleasant hours of reading and the writer apparently enjoyed his sojourn in Peru, which is ample justification for the book.
ARTHUR S. AITON

SYNOPSIS OF THE MILITARY LIFE OF SUCRE. By *Eleazar Lopez Contreras*. Translated by *Kate Brown Schroeter*. (New York, Bolivarian Society of the United States, 70 Broadway, 1942, pp. 64, gratis.)

BOLETÍN DEL INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES HISTÓRICAS. [Facultad de filosofía y letras.] Índice general del tomo XIX, años XIII y XIV—nos. 64-66. (Buenos Aires, Talleres S. A. Casa Jacobo Peuser, 1935-1941, pp. xiv, 953-1089.)

BOLETÍN DEL INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES HISTÓRICAS. [Facultad de filosofía y letras.] Índice general del tomo XX, año XIV—nos. 67-68. (Buenos Aires, Talleres S. A. Casa Jacobo Peuser, 1936-1942, pp. xiv, 787-918.)

INVESTIGATIONS IN PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE FIELD OF LATIN AMERICAN HUMANISTIC AND SOCIAL SCIENCE STUDIES. *Alexander Marchant* and *Charmion Shelby*, Editors; *John E. Englekirk*, Advisory Editor. Preliminary edition. (Washington, Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, 1942, pp. xi, 236, mimeographed.) The editors of this useful survey, working from a questionnaire submitted to investigators and to "persons believed to be such" in the Latin-American field, present this preliminary report of their findings. They omit master's theses and exclude other items that seem to be foreign to the general heading. For each investigator is indicated his age, his field of interest, his publications to a maximum of five, and his investigations in progress. Appended is a thirteen-page double-column list of nonrespondents, some of whom should certainly be covered in the next edition.

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American Historical Association

SPECIAL NOTICE TO MEMBERS

In conformity with the provisions of the Constitution governing the choice of elected officers of the Association, the Nominating Committee invites members of the Association to submit by signed letter his preferences for offices listed below. Before making out a preferential list, the member should familiarize himself with the present officers as published in this issue. Your indication of a preference is not a ballot but a suggestion for the guidance of the Nominating Committee. Letters should be addressed to the Executive Secretary, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington, D. C., and mailed before July 1, 1943. The offices to be filled are President, First Vice President, Second Vice President, Treasurer, Executive Council (two names), Nominating Committee (three names).

The committee appointed to award the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize for 1943 desires to call attention to the terms of the award. This prize, which carries a stipend of \$200, is awarded in the odd-numbered years for a work, manuscript or in print, in the field of American, including South American, history. Entries for the 1943 competition must be submitted prior to June 1, 1943. By the rules of the competition, printed works can be considered for the 1943 prize only if the date of publication falls between December 1, 1940, and June 1, 1943. Entries may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Professor L. G. Vander Velde of the University of Michigan. The terms of the competition, as defined by the American Historical Association, follow:

In awarding these prizes, the committee in charge will consider not only research accuracy and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and general excellence of style. These prizes are designed particularly to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work nor obtained an established reputation.

All work submitted in competition for these prizes must be in the hands of the prize committee on or before June 1st of the year in which the award is made. The date of publication of printed monographs submitted in competition must fall within a period of two and one-half years prior to June 1st of the year in which the prize is awarded.

Since there could be no meeting this year at Columbus, the Council of the Conference on Latin American History, with the advice of the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, has approved the continuation in office of

the present officers for the coming year. Professor Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania is president and Dr. Vera Brown Holmes of Smith College is secretary-treasurer.

Other Historical Activities

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has received with great gratification the papers of Senator George William Norris, of Nebraska, covering the major portion of his work in the United States Senate for a period of forty years. The collection, a very large one, will not be available for consultation at present.

Among other recent accessions the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: photostat of royal provision, issued by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain, addressed to officials and inhabitants of the city of Alcaraz, concerning salt-works, Toledo, March 4, 1480; manuscript volume of "Chronicles" of Nicolaus Crombach, pastor of Rümelingen, containing records of births, marriages, deaths, descriptions of ecclesiastical, social, and political events and natural phenomena, 1582 to 1660; recent copies of two indentures between Robert Washington and Robert Randes, sale of "Broode Yates," October 25, [1582], and between Robert Washington and Lawrence Washington, his son, and Robert Randes, sale of "Brodyate's Close," October 15, [1592]; manuscript volume of proceedings in the trial of Miguel Rodriguez, Spanish Inquisition, Mexico, January, 1590, to December, 1596, including extracts from proceedings against other persons, March 16 to December 4, 1589; typewritten copy of Ely Deposition Book, 1591 to 1599 (manuscript by the Rev. Canon William Noble, pertaining to Cambridgeshire, England); 2,444 prints (photofilm enlargements and negative photostats) of manuscripts in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, mainly pertaining to the Yucatan region of Mexico, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an addition to previous gifts from the Carnegie Institution of Washington; photostat of will of Richard Washington, son of John Washington of Surry County, Virginia, November 9, 1724; manuscript volume concerning establishment of military forces in Great Britain and the plantations, 1731 to 1737; 156 original manuscripts and copies of 237 papers pertaining to the British Admiralty, mainly from the papers of Admiral Sir George Pocock (including prison and court martial records and descriptions of prisons), 1746 to 1748; fifty-seven papers of, or relating to, Ebenezer Foote (commissary, American Revolution) and other members of the Foote family (including Charles A. Foote, attorney and officer in the War of 1812 and representative in Congress), August 15, 1751, to June 17, 1871, and undated; "The Harry Payne Whitney Collection of Letters of William Collins Whitney," in sixty-one boxes and seventy-five volumes, 1760 to 1904 (including related materials); commission issued by the

President of the United States to John Paul Jones to negotiate with the dey of Algiers, June 1, 1792 (photostat); photostat of letter of Thomas Jefferson, June 1, 1792; three boxes of papers of the Riggs family (including seven diaries, one scrapbook, and a genealogy), 1779 to 1939 (supplemental to other accessions of papers of the Riggs family previously received); photostat of certification by John Mortoun, Minister, and Patrick Jollie, Sess. Clk., pertaining to Thomas Bridge and his wife, Cathrine [*sic*] Cunan, dated at Leslie, August 27, 1793; letter from L. Dalton, Charleston, South Carolina, to [] Gibbs, [1796], pertaining to comparison of conditions in Charleston and in England, prices, slaves, etcetera; photostat of recruiting poster for troops being raised under General Washington for the defense of the liberties and independence of the United States, [1798]; photostat of copy of speech of the St. Regis Indians to Lieutenant General Hunter, June 9, 1800, and his reply; twenty letters, mainly from the friends of James and Dolly Payne Madison, 1801 to 1838 and undated; twelve letters and one receipt to and from Isaac Hull (commodore, United States Navy), October 3, 1811, to May 1, 1826; copy of list entitled "Names of Creek Indians, Officers—and number of men who served under General Andrew Jackson in the War of 1812—"The Red Stick War' mustered into the service of the United States in Oct. Nov. and Dec 1814—discharged March 15, & 20th 1815"; one letter from Pierce Butler, Philadelphia, March 17, 1816; 159 papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss, 1816 to 1882 (including 143 letters from Daniel Webster to Alexander Bliss, 1816 to 1827); one letter from Lord Byron to the editor of *Galignani's Messenger*, Venice, April 27, 1819; copybook of Bathsheba Barton, Weston School, Pennsylvania, 1819; letter from Jacob Gerhard Koch to M. H. Messchert, August 7, 1829; letter from Charles Pinckney to William Hasel Gibbs (captain of South Carolina artillery), undated; letter from M. Rothschild, September 16, 1836; "No 1 Journal of T.R.Peale" (one volume), kept on the United States Exploring Expedition to the South Sea, August 1, 1838, to April 7, 1839 (includes notes and drawings of Titian Ramsay Peale, naturalist); eight letters of Joseph Day (United States Navy) to members of his family, September 1, 1839, to November 11, 1852; four letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson to Eliza T. Clapp, October 5, 1840, to August 10, 1859; letter from Le Comte Alfred d'Orsay to M. de Calcina, May 23, 1842; handwritten copy of letter from William C. Preston to John Tyler, October 26, 1843; four volumes of journals of accounts of William Boswell and Company, of Port Tobacco, Maryland, October 24, 1846, to September 30, 1861; three manuscripts and four pamphlets of, or relating to, Admiral Charles Wilkes, 1846 to 1858 and undated; document entitled "Improved System of Spherical Case Shot," addressed to the government of the United States by J. Burrows Hyde, London, November 3, 1847; five papers of Edward L. Hartz (captain in the United States Army during the Civil War), 1851 to 1859; journals (eleven volumes) and three loose papers of Edwin A. Van Cise, 1857 to 1871; microfilm of twelve letters of Edwin Greble (a friend of Benjamin J. Lossing), February 22, 1858, to November

2, 1865; sixteen letters from Asa Beetham (serving in the United States Navy during the Civil War from New York City) to members of his family, July 31, 1861, to May 24, 1865; photostat of *Prison Times* (Fort Delaware), issue for April 1, 1865 (Vol. I, No. 1); microfilm of thirteen papers of David Livingstone and members of his family, 1865 to 1942; certificate of registry of the Barque *Norwegian*, issued by Pierrepont Edwards, from the British consulate in New York, to Charles F. Musans, July 29, 1865; one box of notes of Thomas Pitkin (relating principally to Tokyo), undated except for one letter of September 8, 1865; fifty-one boxes and two folders of papers of Charles Edward Russell (lecturer, author, and socialist), 1865 to 1940 and undated; twenty-seven notebooks containing a manuscript copy of *Memoirs of the Civil War* by John Patton; photostat of protest by inhabitants of Manitoulin Island, concerning Charles T. Dupont, superintendent, addressed to the Right Honorable Charles Stanley, Baron Monck, governor general of Canada, August 3, 1867; letter from E. W. Metcalf ("builder & owner of Ship Delphine, destroyed by Shenandoah before Melbourne") to James Abram Garfield, Washington, February 10, 1875; letter from Hamilton Fish to Elijah Ward, August 30, 1875; five rolls of positive microfilm of the papers of Rutherford Birchard Hayes relating to the election of 1876; eighty-nine papers of Hamilton Wright Mabie (member of the editorial staff of the *Christian Union*, which later became the *Outlook*), ca. 1882 to 1914; logbook of the bark *Karnak*, from Ship Island to Hamburg, April 20 to July 31, 1891; letter from Woodrow Wilson to P. J. Scalley, February 25, 1913; a collection of clippings and two photographs pertaining to the work of Woman's Suffrage by Mrs. Florence B. Morrill and Mrs. Ida Mae Waters, 1915; papers of, or relating to, George Sterling, March 21, 1916, to February 5, 1942, in one volume; papers by and collected by James Woodburn Hamilton, pertaining to "World English or Cosmo English," 1917 to 1939, in two boxes; three boxes of card indexes representing original sources used by W. R. Walton in preparation of a work on "The Entomology of English Poetry"; papers of Edward Tracy Clark, ca. 9,000 pieces, ca. 1923 to 1932; papers pertaining to libraries of the counties of the states of the United States, resulting from a survey directed by Mrs. Laura Steffens Suggett; material prepared by the United States W.P.A., Writers Project, ca. 1936 to 1941, relating to contemporary history of Washington, D. C.; "Adventures of a Happy Man" and "Harvest of My Years" by Channing Pollock, 1938 and [1943], (typewritten with autograph corrections); and letters from Douglas B. and Mrs. Cockerell to T. D. A. Cockerell, September 26, 1939, to September 12, 1942, in one box.

The *Eighth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States* for the fiscal year 1941-42, recently published, reflects the influence of the war on all functions of the National Archives. Chiefly as a result of the wartime pressure for space in government buildings, nearly three times as many records were accessioned as in any previous year. A descriptive list of the records received appears as an

appendix. The *Report* also discusses the records administration program, which aims at the better care of record material in the agencies creating it, particularly in the many new war agencies, to the end that an adequate record of the experience of the government and people of the United States may be preserved. A significant addition to the large body of naval records in the National Archives was made recently by the transfer of many of the files assembled by the Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department. Although there are a few records relating to the Revolutionary War among them, most of them cover the period 1798-1910. They comprise the central files of the department up to 1842, when the bureau system was inaugurated; for the period subsequent to that, they consist of a selection from the bureau files of outstanding records relating to operations and of policy documents relating to logistics. Among them are letter books of the Navy commissioners and other officials, muster rolls, squadron reports, diaries, minutes and journals, records of the Confederate Navy, ship records, and records relating to privateers, prizes, claims, and courts martial. Practically all the Federal archival sources for the study of United States naval history to 1911 are now concentrated in the National Archives. Records in the National Archives relating to military affairs have been further increased by the receipt of the records of the Office of the Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service, 1918-40; the records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, 1894-1923, completing the files of that office in the National Archives from 1800 to 1923; and the central files of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1886-1942. The last named was the only major War Department bureau that had not previously transferred the main body of its noncurrent records to the National Archives. Other recent accessions of importance include records of a number of Justice Department offices, 1853-1938, including those of the pardon attorney, the claims division, the appointment clerk's office, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the United States Commerce Court (1910-13); Forest Service records relating to the early conservation and forestry movement, 1882-1906; State Department records consisting of consular and diplomatic notes, dispatches, and instructions, 1906-10, and treaties and statutes completing these two series in the National Archives to 1932 and 1941, respectively; and the general files of the chief clerk of the Labor Department, 1913-42. In accordance with its policy of preparing preliminary "finding mediums" of records of importance in relation to the present war effort, the National Archives has recently issued a *Preliminary Inventory of the Council of National Defense Records, 1916-1921*. The records of the council are of interest not only because of its importance as a policy-making agency during the last war but also because a large amount of material gathered by its Reconstruction Research Division is of value in connection with present postwar planning.

The President has recently given the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, some very interesting papers relating to his early activities as a

candidate for public office. They include correspondence, memoranda, schedules of meetings, press releases, election tabulations, and other materials concerning Mr. Roosevelt's unsuccessful campaign for nomination as United States senator in the New York Democratic primary election of 1914 and his campaign as Vice-Presidential candidate in 1920. Another gift received from the President is a valuable collection of Roosevelt family papers consisting of forty-two ledgers, day-books, receipt books, account books, and similar items relating to the business activities of his ancestors during the period 1715-1832. While some of this material deals with real-estate and merchandising transactions, most of it has to do with the sugar-importing business carried on by the Roosevelts in New York City. Represented in the collection are the business papers of Jacobus Roosevelt, 1715-73; Isaac Roosevelt, 1755-75; Isaac Roosevelt and Sons, 1774-1824; and James Roosevelt, 1794-1832. Bernard M. Baruch has given the library a set of the rag-paper edition of the *New York Times* for the period 1931-42. A gift from Miss Celia Zepf, Hyde Park, New York, of a collection of 377 photographic plates of Hyde Park persons and scenes made by a local photographer during the period 1880-1900, will be invaluable for a reconstruction of the scene of the President's home community during his youth. The *Third Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States as to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library*, just published, describes the work of the library during the fiscal year 1941-42 and includes a descriptive list of the material presented to the library by the President and others. Copies of the *Report* may be obtained from the Division of Information and Publications of the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

The Archivist of the United States announced the appointment of Dallas D. Irvine, formerly chief of the Division of War Department Archives, as assistant to the Archivist and Edward G. Campbell, a member of the staff since January, 1938, as chief of that division. Robert H. Bahmer, a member of the staff who has been serving on detail as chief of the Archival Service Unit of the Office of Records Administration in the Navy Department, has been named chief of the Division of Navy Department Archives, succeeding Nelson M. Blake, who has been called to military duty. Laura R. Hanes, assistant chief of the Division of Personnel and Pay Roll from July, 1935, to October, 1941, has rejoined the staff as chief of that division. Other appointments to the staff of the National Archives include those of Richard G. Wood, formerly state supervisor of the New Hampshire Historical Records Survey, and Eleanor Ross, formerly documents cataloguer at the Oregon State College Library. Among other members of the staff who have recently entered the armed services are Maxcy R. Dickson, Herman R. Friis, William E. Keegan, John R. Kennedy, William B. Rapley, and Charles L. Stewart.

The following recent accessions to the Naval Historical Foundation may be noted: letters, notebooks, etc., pertaining to Commodore John Rodgers, 1794-1842; letters, documents, etc., relating to Lieutenant J. A. Cook, 1812-34; ships

documents, Newport and Providence, Rhode Island, 1773-1939; collection, Commodore George Hamilton Perkins (class of 1856, Naval Academy); photostatic copies of documents relating to Commodore Selim C. Woodworth, 1841-61; Civil War diary, 1864, and journal of U. S. S. *Alliance*, 1881-82, Rear Admiral G. H. Wadleigh; letter book and journal, U. S. S. *Constitution*, 1820-22; letter of Commodore William Bainbridge, Jan. 8, 1828; Ninian Pinkney Collection, 1811-77.

Among the collection of Americana recently presented to Fordham University are three orderly books of General Washington covering the dates July 9 to October 18, 1775, June 20 to August 26, 1776, and June 27, 1779, to August 8, 1779. Other items are a diary of Arnold's Quebec expedition in 1775 and orderly books of General Nathanael Greene from November 1, 1781, to January 31, 1782.

The John Carter Brown Library, which last year issued a reproduction of the Augustine Herrman map "Virginia and Maryland" of London, 1673, has this year reproduced in facsimile by collotype process "A New Chart of the English Empire in North America,' designed by Captain Cyprian Southack and engraved by Francis Dewing at Boston in 1717." Extensive bibliographical and descriptive notes accompany the reproduction. The sale price is \$4.75.

The collection of Mark Twain books assembled by Willard S. Morse has been sold to Walter F. Frear, former governor of Hawaii, who has bought the material to present to the library of Yale University.

Scholars will greet with pleasure a new historical publication, *Medievalia et Humanistica*, an American journal for the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The first fascicle of this occasional publication appeared in January. The managing editor is Professor S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado. The other members of the board of editors are R. H. Bainton, Yale University; H. L. Krueger, University of Cincinnati; M. L. W. Laistner, Cornell University; E. W. Nelson, Duke University; Sidney Painter, Johns Hopkins University; and B. L. Ullman, University of Chicago. Each issue will be priced at \$1.50. The essays in this first number will be found in the list of articles in the appropriate section in this issue. A hearty welcome and best wishes to the new publication and its promoters.

On January 1, 1943, Louisiana State University terminated its sponsorship of the *Journal of Southern History*. The magazine will be transferred to Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, and Dr. William C. Binkley of that university will become its managing editor. Consequently, beginning with the new year, all exchanges should be addressed to Dr. Binkley.

At the January meeting of the section on Historical and Political Sciences of the Polish Institute in New York the following papers were read: Professor O. Odlozilik, of the Universities of Prague and Columbia, "Bohemia and Poland in Mediaeval Plans of European Organization"; and Dr. N. Mirkovic, formerly of

the Universities of Belgrade and California, "The Republic of Ragusa in the Age of Discoveries."

Because of the increased interest resulting from the war, the University of Mexico has made a full year's course in the history of the United States a requirement for a degree in the faculty of history in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters.

Personal

Dr. Dice R. Anderson, formerly president of Randolph-Macon Woman's College and of Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, and more recently at Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, died October 23 at the age of sixty-two. Dr. Anderson taught in a number of colleges after taking his doctor's degree at the University of Chicago in 1912. He was the author of a study of William Branch Giles and of the biography of Edmund Randolph in the *Secretaries of States* series. While at Richmond College, 1908-20, as professor of history and political science he was editor of the *Richmond College Historical Papers, 1915-17*.

The death of A. Lawrence Lowell, president emeritus of Harvard University, on December 6, closed a distinguished career as scholar, publicist, and university administrator. Most of his published works were in the field of government but made their contribution in part to history whose molding influence, if not exalted, was never ignored by the author. As president of Harvard for almost a quarter of a century and by reason of certain of his public responsibilities Mr. Lowell's life and career are assured of the lively interest of future biographers and historians.

Dr. Helen M. Baldwin, assistant professor of history at Hunter College, died in New York, December 18. Barnard College conferred the degree of B.A. in 1921 and she later received the degrees of M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. She was a member of the Association and of the American Catholic Historical Association. Her dissertation, *A Survey of the Manor of Wye*, was published by Columbia University.

Because his interests were so much wider than his own special field it is appropriate to note here with regret the death on December 21 of the distinguished anthropologist, Dr. Franz Boas. Dr. Boas was the recipient of many honors and distinctions. One of the latest and not possibly the least was that of having his books burned by the Nazi administration in 1933. He was for forty-three years professor of anthropology at Columbia University, retiring in 1936. His more recent publications had to do with pointing out the futilities of the racial theories promoted by the Nazi ideologists.

Thomas Pollock Oakley, professor emeritus of history in the graduate school of Fordham University, died at White Plains, N. Y., January 9. Professor Oakley received both his bachelor's and doctor's degrees from Columbia University. Before his appointment at Fordham he had taught history at Syracuse University and at City College in New York.

Professor Eugene I. McCormac, who retired from his professorship of American history in the University of California in July, 1942, died suddenly at his home in Berkeley, January 10. Professor McCormac spent his youth in Iowa, graduating from Upper Iowa University in 1896. He earned his doctor's degree at Yale University in 1901 with a thesis, later published in the Johns Hopkins University Studies, on *White Servitude in Maryland*. A successful teaching career in California colleges was followed by an appointment to the staff of the state university at Berkeley. He was made a full professor in 1919. Teaching and the enrichment of the knowledge he could bring to the classroom were strong interests for Professor McCormac. The students and associates who knew him best were his most loyal friends. Of his published works he will be best remembered for his *James K. Polk* (1922) and for his lives of McLane and Forsyth in the *American Secretaries of State*, Vol. IV.

Professor Robin G. Collingwood, who died January 11 at the age of fifty-three, was a professor of metaphysical philosophy at Oxford but a man of wide interests, among others in the archaeology and history of Roman Britain. Among his many publications historians will recall *Roman Britain* (last edition, 1932), *Archaeology of Roman Britain* (1930), *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (with J. N. L. Myres), Vol. I of the *Oxford History of England*, and the section on Britain in Tenney Frank's *Economic Survey of Rome* (1937).

Judge Carroll T. Bond, who died January 18 in Baltimore, served for several years as a member of the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund and edited (with Richard B. Morris) the first volume of that committee's American legal records, the *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695-1729*.

Professor Samuel N. Harper of the University of Chicago, the well-known scholar in the field of Russian literature and history, died suddenly in the night of January 17-18. Professor Harper was in his sixty-first year. He had appeared several times on the programs at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association and was a valued contributor of reviews to this quarterly. His intimate knowledge of Russia, past and present, was always available to other scholars and to the government in Washington. His volume on *Civic Training in Russia* was a major contribution to an understanding of Bolshevik policies in education and indoctrination. His death at this time adds to the usual sense of loss, for it closes a career at its point of greatest possible usefulness.

Dr. Arthur Rosenberg, professor of history in Brooklyn College, died February 8. Dr. Rosenberg, who had been prominent in Germany as a historian and member of the Reichstag, fled in 1933 when the Nazis came to power. He held a lectureship in the University of Liverpool until 1937. His chief works are *Birth of the German Republic*, written in 1931; *History of Bolshevism*, 1934; and *History of the German Republic*, 1936. These works were translated into many languages. He was also the author of *Introduction and Sources of Roman History* and *Democracy and Socialism*.

Dr. Harlow Lindley, secretary and librarian of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, announces the appointment of a trained historian as chief of the department of documents (which includes manuscripts, maps, and archives) in the society's library. Miss Bertha E. Josephson, who for the past year and a half has been serving as editorial associate and secretary to the librarian, assumed charge of the department of documents on November 1. Miss Josephson will continue her editorial duties along with her new responsibility.

The faculty of the University of California has chosen Professor Robert J. Kerner as Faculty Research Lecturer for 1943. The lectureship was established twenty-eight years ago, and Professor Kerner is the second historian, the other being Professor Herbert E. Bolton, to have been chosen for this distinction.

Professor Isaac J. Cox of Northwestern University has accepted a position as a visiting professor at Louisiana State University.

Professor Lynn White of the department of history of Stanford University has been elected president of Mills College.

Germán Arciniegas, minister of education of Colombia, will be visiting lecturer at the University of Chicago during the second semester of this academic year.

Professor Vernon J. Puryear and Dr. Walton M. Bean of Davis (College of Agriculture) have for the second semester been assigned duties with the department of history on the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

Mary Bradshaw of Hunter College of the City of New York, has been granted a leave of absence to do research work for the Department of State.

Professor Howard M. Smyth of the University of California is on leave for the second semester and is with the Office of Strategic Services.

Professor Herbert H. Coulson of St. Louis University, past president of the American Catholic Historical Association, is now on leave and is serving in the Royal Canadian Air Force, with the rank of flying officer.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Beloit College*, L. T. Merrill to be professor; *Hunter College*, Abbie Scudi to be assistant professor; *Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts*, Earle D. Ross to be professor; *New York University*, Noel Davis Godfrey to be professor; *Western College*, Frank Esterquest to be associate professor and head of the department.

The following staff members are on leave of absence for service with the armed forces of the United States: *George Washington University*, Wood Gray; *Harvard University*, Ralph M. Hower; *University of Illinois*, Edgar L. Erickson; *Louisiana State University*, Harris G. Warren; *University of Virginia*, Oron J. Hale.

Communications

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his comment on my chapter in *The Negro in America*, edited by Dean Charles H. Wesley, the reviewer, Mr. Frank Tannenbaum, wrote (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII, 419): "but to say, as does Mr. Logan in his paper on the Negro in Spanish America, that 'it was the Negroes who in large measure forced the Creole leaders, throughout Spanish America, to continue the struggle until independence had been assured' (p. 29) is to claim a good deal more than Latin Americans would be prepared to concede."

I had given a rather long excerpt from a letter written to John Quincy Adams by Manuel Torres, the agent of Colombia in the United States, on May 20, 1820, and then added: "If this statement is correct, it was the Negroes who in large measure," etc. By omitting the words, "If this statement is correct," Mr. Tannenbaum made me give an unqualified endorsement to what would unquestionably be considered an extravagant claim.

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